

The
American Historical Review

THE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL
ASSOCIATION AT NEW HAVEN

THERE have been thirty-seven annual meetings of the American Historical Association, and there are not thirty-seven places where meetings of so large a body, especially when conjoined with other large societies, can advantageously be held; therefore it not infrequently happens of late that a meeting is held, after an interval of years, where one has been held before. In such a case it is natural to one who, beginning at the beginning, has attended thirty-three out of the thirty-seven annual meetings, to make mental comparisons between, for instance, the thirty-seventh annual meeting, held at New Haven on December 27-30, 1922, and the fourteenth, held in the same agreeable city in the corresponding days of 1898. First of all, one could not fail to be struck with the difference in the background or setting, the outward appearance of Yale University. The number of academic buildings added in these twenty-four years, and in some cases their beauty and magnificence, and those of the federal and other buildings adjacent, were impressive elements in the comparison. It seemed that little remained unchanged except the three old churches on the Green—and the climate. But there was the same cordial hospitality, though proffered by other hands, and the same desire and the same assiduous effort to make the meeting a success. A notable evening reception was held, by the president of Yale University and Mrs. Angell, in the stately Memorial Hall, and there were other evening gatherings under the roof of the Yale University Press, at the Graduates Club, at the Faculty Club, and at the Elizabethan Club. The New Haven Colony Historical Society and the Art School threw open their interesting collections. It should be gratefully recorded that the chairman of the Committee on Local Arrangements was Professor Max Farrand, its secretary Professor John M. S. Allison, the chairman of the Committee on the Programme Professor David S.

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Muzzey. The headquarters of the Association were at the Hotel Taft. The registration showed the attendance of 361 members, thirty-six more than last year, and one more than at the Washington meeting of December, 1920. Convention rates were granted by the railroad associations, as in 1921 and many earlier years.

In 1898 the Association had a membership of between 1100 and 1200; its present membership is nearly 2600. Its invested funds then amounted to \$11,539; their present amount is four times as great. Among the papers read at the earlier meeting there were, it must be confessed, a greater number having a high order of merit than in the case of the recent meeting; but, on the other hand, the programme of the latter showed in the comparison, in the most gratifying way, how greatly the historical interests of the Association and of its members have widened in less than a generation, and how many fruitful corporate activities it has meantime undertaken. Perhaps none of these has shown or will show more important results than have flowed from the now celebrated Report of the Committee of Seven on the teaching of history in secondary schools, laid before the New Haven meeting of 1898 by the committee's chairman, Professor McLaughlin, but the number of professional "good works" now going forward in the hands of committees of the Association is certainly impressive. For one more remembrance, it was at the New Haven meeting of 1898 that the Association took under its wing the *American Historical Review*, then three years old, a step which the editors may venture to hope it has never regretted.

As is usual, several other societies of similar character held their annual meetings at the same time and place. With the Agricultural History Society, which has an organic relation to the American Historical Association, embodied in a formal document, there was a joint session devoted to the agricultural history of the United States. With the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, which, even at so great a distance from the Mississippi Valley, met in considerable numbers, there was also a joint session, occupied with papers interesting to both societies. The American Catholic Historical Association held its third annual meeting, and a highly successful one, under the presidency of Professor Robert H. Lord, of Harvard University. Its sessions included practical conferences on archival centres for American Catholic history, and on the subject of a general bibliography of church history. Among the papers read at its other sessions we may note, as of special value, that of Rev. Dr. J. J. Rolbiecki, of the Catholic University of America, on Dante's Views on the Sovereignty of the State; that of Rev. Joseph M. Egan, of St.

Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie, on the Vatican Council and the Laws of Nations; that of Rev. Dr. Francis A. Christie, of the Meadville Theological School, on Recent Phases of the Catholic Social Movement; that of Rev. Maurice F. McAuliffe, president of St. Thomas's Seminary, Hartford, on the Beginnings of Catholicism in Connecticut; and that of Dr. Leo F. Stock, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington and the Catholic University of America, on the United States at the Court of Pius IX. A fuller account of this society's meeting will appear in the *Catholic Historical Review*, and of the meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*.

All three of these societies, and also the "Hispanic American group", had dinners, with speeches, notable among which were the remarks of Professor Turner, of Harvard, on Agricultural History as a Field of Research, and those of Professor Bolton, of California, in advocacy of college courses which treat of American history as a whole, as contrasted with those which confine attention to the history of the United States alone. Besides the dinners, there were several "luncheon conferences", and even one "breakfast conference", on the Resources of American Libraries for purposes of history, wherein the evils of duplication and inconsiderate buying, and the need of concerted action in the building up of libraries for purposes of scholarship, were well set forth. Of the luncheon parties, one devoted itself to papers and remarks, reported with some fullness in an allied journal,¹ on the General College Course in American History. Another had its luncheon in combination with the Association of University Professors, which this year held its annual meeting in New Haven. Especially notable was the luncheon concerted by the hereditary patriotic societies, at which their work and plans, especially those of their branches in Connecticut, might be explained and discussed. This was done, and in most cases in a quite interesting manner, by Connecticut representatives of the societies of Colonial Dames, Colonial Wars, Founders and Patriots of America, Daughters of Founders and Patriots, Sons of the American Revolution, Daughters of the American Revolution, and the Military Order of Foreign Wars.

Two important societies of purposes closely related, besides those already named, were also holding their annual meetings at Yale University during these same days, the Archaeological Institute of America and the American Philological Association. One joint session was held with the former, and another with both of these two societies.

¹ *Historical Outlook*, March.

In the former, Mr. William H. Buckler, who was formerly of the staff of the American expedition to Sardis and has had an important part in the shaping of regulations for the conduct of archaeological work in lands formerly Turkish, presented impressively the Situation in the Near East from an Historical and Archaeological Point of View, with special recommendations as to work in Anatolia.² The second of these sessions was devoted to papyri, with papers largely of historical interest.

The Programme Committee made a laudable effort to simplify the programme. In view of a sort of necessity for the joint sessions which have been mentioned, and for meeting the desires of certain relatively permanent groups who are accustomed to claim special sessions, this resulted in the regrettable omission of any provision for some very important interests, and in particular the almost entire absence of contributions to the medieval and modern history of Europe. But everyone commended that feature of the simplifying process which consisted in confining the programme of each of the three evenings to one notable address, such as might be of interest to a large audience of the general public as well as to members, and in leaving the rest of the evening for social enjoyment.

On the first evening Professor Charles H. Haskins, of Harvard University, president of the Association, gave the presidential address on European History and American Scholarship which members have read in our preceding number, and in which they have seen so much that is gratifying to reasonable American pride and inspiring toward further achievement.

The second of the addresses alluded to was that of Sir Robert Borden, former prime minister of Canada, on the British Commonwealth of Nations: Features of External Relations.³ He traced the development of the dominions from the time of central control and colonial subordination to their present status as co-equal members of this Britannic league, dwelling upon the successive steps, in law or customary practice, which marked that development—the understanding reached in 1848 as to dependence of the Canadian governor-general's advisers on the confidence of the elective assembly; the confederation of 1867; in the next forty years, the establishment of autonomy of the dominions in internal affairs and their progress in respect to consultation and co-operation in affairs external; after 1907 the Imperial Conferences between the British government and the governments of the dominions; in 1917 and thereafter the Imperial War Cabinet; the form of participation in the Peace Confer-

² The paper has been printed as a pamphlet.

³ To be printed in the *Yale Review*.

ence, the Versailles Conference, and the Washington Conference; the provision for diplomatic representation of Canada at Washington, and the constitution of the Irish Free State. Sir Robert's speech was extensively reported in the newspapers of the day.

Without doubt the most striking event of the whole meeting was the remarkable address which the Secretary of State, Mr. Hughes, delivered before the Association and a large general audience on the third evening, on *Some Aspects of Our Foreign Relations*. Never before, it is safe to say, has it happened that large portions of any paper read before this scholastic body were cabled the same night to London and Paris and Berlin.⁴ The major portion of the address was a survey, admirable in form and impressively delivered, of the history and results of the Washington Conference of 1921 on the Limitation of Armament, in which the Secretary, who had been so clearly the central figure of the Conference, described its proceedings, its spirit, the factors which made for its success, the treaties which resulted from it, and the progress thus far made in ratifying those treaties and executing their provisions—treaties in regard to naval armament, fortifications in the Pacific, China in general, Shantung, and Yap. The Secretary also made this address the occasion for a pronouncement on the policy of the Administration in respect to economic conditions in Europe. He declared the desire of the United States to be helpful; he stated the crux of the European situation to lie in the settlement of reparations by Germany; he urged the attempt to solve that problem as a distinct question, separate from all consideration of debts due to the United States; and he suggested that, if statesmen could not agree upon amount and method of payment, and exigencies of public opinion made their course difficult, they might summon for the purpose men of the highest authority in finance in their respective countries, who, acting as a purely economic commission, in which he "had no doubt that distinguished Americans would be willing to serve", should clarify the whole situation by effecting an authoritative determination of this primary question. It was these remarks and suggestions that caused the chief reverberations of the address in Europe, but events have since taken another course.

In the organizing of sessions, a very praiseworthy novelty was the arranging for a session devoted to legal history. This should have been done before. The common interests of historical students and lawyers, especially those lawyers who are interested in legal history, have deserved recognition by the society, and greater attention to

⁴ The full text is in *Current History* for February.

them might draw many lawyers into its membership, to mutual advantage. In what we may hope was but the first of a series of such sessions, the two papers read were, appropriately, of an introductory character. Mr. Edwin G. Buckland, vice-president and general counsel of the New York, New Haven, and Hartford Railroad Company, read the first, on What Legal History means to the Lawyer, dwelling on many chapters of the law which lack explanation unless the aid of legal history is invoked, such as the differences between legal and equitable remedies, the methods of transferring titles to land, the liabilities of innkeepers and common carriers, the law respecting competition, and the progressive developments in the opinions of Chief Justice Marshall.

Professor Charles H. McIlwain, of Harvard University, followed with a paper on What Legal History means to the Historian. He took pains first to guard against identification of legal history with the methods and conclusions of the historical school that began with Hugo, Eichhorn, and Savigny, and included Sir Henry Maine. Great as were their contributions to juristic thought, they idealized too much the results of unconscious legal development. They were in danger of belittling the results of conscious efforts to improve the law, of confounding the history of legal institutions and ideas with their justification in a practical world, of substituting the former for the latter. Yet for all constructive criticism of legal theories legal history must furnish much of the indispensable material. It is an indispensable instrument of historical education. The speaker drew illustrations of its value from the history of the public law of England and the private law of Rome. He also set forth the worth and importance of legal records in reconstructing the social, economic, intellectual, political, and constitutional life of the past. This evidence is abundant, specific, and unbiased, but its proper use requires a more developed historical sense among lawyers and a fuller knowledge of legal history among historians. In the discussion which followed, Professor George B. Adams, of Yale University, defended the legal historians and historians of institutions against the charge of being too exact and definite in their claims; Professor Edward J. Woodhouse, of Smith College, emphasized the value of legal history in a democracy, where the rule of law (and of lawyers) requires that law be well understood; while Professor George L. Burr, of Cornell University, after drawing illustrations from the legal history of witchcraft, maintained that unless legal history is thoroughly studied, the experience of mankind will be forfeited.

The annual Conference of Archivists devoted its attention to one sole paper, on Some Problems in the Classification of Departmental

Archives, by Mr. David W. Parker, who has official charge of the manuscripts department in the Public Archives of Canada, at Ottawa. After sketching the history of that establishment and of the chief deposits which it now contains, Mr. Parker showed how their fusion and transfer, and the neglect with which they had often been treated before the present period of concentration, had produced intricate and difficult problems of classification. Holding tenaciously always to the *principe de la provenance*, he made it his first procedure, on assuming his duties as keeper of manuscripts, to separate the material into its constituent *fonds*, and to study with the utmost care, chiefly from the correspondence, and from the evidences of actual practice rather than from regulations not always observed, the constitution and procedure of each governmental office from which papers in the archives had come down. Then the attempt was made to reconstitute the various series of each department along its original lines. The problems and difficulties discussed as typical illustrations were those connected with the reconstitution of the series relating to commissions, with the reclassification of the records of the department of Indian affairs, in which there had been an intricate mixture of civil and military control, and with the case of the military records (series C), where an artificial classification regardless of *provenance* had been made immobile by binding in a thousand volumes, augmented by miscellaneous additions, and then stereotyped by the printing of an inventory which has been extensively referred to by historians. The paper enforced, impressively and with humor, the importance of the *respect des fonds*.

The semi-autonomous Conference of Historical Societies held its usual annual meeting. Three papers, from three widely separated and widely different states, set forth with great intelligence the salient features of organized work relative to their history, the writers representing institutions of three different types.

Florida as a Field for Historical Research was discussed by Mr. John B. Stetson, jr., the principal founder of the Florida State Historical Society, a new organization, which, beginning under bright auspices, confines itself to work of publication. Mr. Stetson reviewed the work done thus far in the very interesting field of Florida history, and, taking up in turn the successive periods into which it is naturally divided—Spanish, British, Spanish, territorial, state—surveyed the various deficiencies in their documentation, especially great in that portion of the first Spanish period which lies between 1574 and 1763; for this indeed original materials in print are almost entirely lacking.

though many hundreds of interesting documents relating to it are to be found in the Archives of the Indies at Seville. The new society has excellent plans, which Mr. Stetson described, for filling some of these gaps by publication of original material, and for other publications relative to Florida history.

Mr. Otis G. Hammond, superintendent of the New Hampshire Historical Society, one of the older (1823), privately endowed organizations, began his treatment of Historical Interests in New Hampshire in similar fashion, by a survey of the history of historical activities in the state, from the publication of the first volume of Jeremy Belknap's *History* in 1784 and the remarkable movement for the foundation of town libraries which began in 1792, down to the present time. His picture of present conditions was not a cheering one, but there is no reason to doubt its accuracy; it could be paralleled in many of the older states, and their historical societies (slenderly represented, by the way, on this present occasion) should study intently the causes. The old-time private collector of New Hampshire material, he said, is gone. The nineteenth-century enthusiasm for local historical work has subsided. The younger generation cares little for it, perhaps for history in general. Genealogical interest is still strong (indeed, who has not observed that three-quarters of the readers who enter the library of an Eastern historical library go there to discover their personal genealogies?), but the high cost of printing has sadly diminished the output of even genealogical as well as of historical books.

A special, but novel and interesting, department of state historical work was described in a paper on Indiana's Archaeological and Historical Survey, by Mr. John W. Oliver, director of the Indiana Historical Commission. The survey, lately undertaken at the suggestion of the National Research Council, is being carried out by county historical societies, under the joint direction of the commission named and of the geological division of the state Department of Conservation; only when some organization capable of attending to the matter has been created in any given county is the attempt made to extend the survey into its area. A map of the county is furnished, showing boundaries of townships and sections, location of towns and cities, roads and railroads, rivers and streams, and is accompanied by an elaborate printed questionnaire setting forth the data to be sought for and the objects to be located. The archaeological questions seek information respecting mounds, earthworks, and enclosures, their contents, and the other results of excavations. The historical inquiries relate to the name and location of early settlements, historic buildings,

old churches, old cemeteries, old millsites, boundary lines, battlefields, historic monuments or markers, old trails, trade routes, Underground Railroad stations, and the like. At the same time an effort is made to note the existence of old diaries, ledgers, newspapers and other old printed material, antiques, and implements of former periods. The whole enterprise will be a matter of several years, but, apart from the data accumulated by the commission, is expected to have large results in stimulating local interest in local history. The conference concluded with a paper by Professor Arthur Adams, of Trinity College, Hartford, on the mutual relations of the Historical Society and Genealogical Research, in which he said what can be said for that pursuit.

It remains to speak, regardless of session, of a score or more of papers which may be more conveniently described individually, in something approaching chronological order, than in the order represented in the programme. Nearly two-thirds of them lay in the field of American history, most of the others in that of ancient history. Notable among the latter was the paper of Professor William L. Westermann, of Cornell University, entitled *An Evaluation of the Greek Papyri as Historical Material*. Their literary value, their usefulness in establishing sound texts of writings already known, the additions they make of pieces heretofore unknown, were touched upon lightly. The main emphasis was laid on their contribution of details respecting daily life, economics (especially banking), and administrative rule in Egypt, as a kingdom under the Macedonian Ptolemies and as a province under the rule of Rome and of Constantinople. The force of tradition in Egypt, the cardinal position it occupied in the Mediterranean world by virtue of its wheat production and its control of the Red Sea route to the Orient, the opportunity to observe the effects of foreign rule and foreign ideas in a land where the foreigner was ultimately to be absorbed, and of making inferences, with cautious restraint, from conditions of administration and social life in Egypt to those of other Hellenistic kingdoms and other provinces of the Roman and Byzantine empires, are the elements which give historical importance to the study of the Greek papyri found in Egypt.

Illustrations of these thoughts were brought forward on the present occasion by several scholars, as, by Professor Arthur G. Laird, of the University of Wisconsin, from an economic papyrus possessed by that institution; and by Professor A. E. R. Boak, of the University of Michigan, from a large roll in its possession which registers 247 contracts of the year 42 B. C. and shows the system followed in the

local record office of Tebtunis and Kerkesouchon Oros, and presumably in others. Professor John R. Knipfing, of Ohio State University, on the basis of an examination of some forty-one *libelli* of the Decian Persecution, printed and manuscript, concluded that those documents (petitions and certificates of pagan sacrifice) were not, as is commonly held, issued solely in the name of Roman citizens, but were valid for all inhabitants of Egypt, inclusive of the *dediticii*, to whom alike the terms of Decius's lost edict of persecution must therefore have applied. Professor H. B. Dewing, of Princeton University, described a fine large papyrus lately acquired by that institution, containing a *dialysis*, or settlement out of court, in 481 A. D., by arbitrators (one of them perhaps an official arbitrator), of claims brought by a certain deacon against Cyrus, bishop of Lycopolis, and his brothers. Another paper in ancient history was that of Professor R. V. D. Magoffin, of the Johns Hopkins University, on the Three Flavian Caesars, a foretaste of his forthcoming book with that title.

There were no papers in medieval history. In the modern history of Europe there was only one, though we may count two if we may stretch the term to include the modern history of South Africa.

In a paper on Early British Radicalism and the Britannic Question Professor Schuyler analyzed the opinions respecting the nature and proper organization of the British Empire expressed by leading British radicals at the time of the outbreak of the American Revolution. He showed that such men as John Cartwright, Granville Sharp, and Richard Price, reasoning from the assumptions of the natural-rights school concerning the nature and purposes of government, took the same view of the Empire that had already been advanced by the American Whigs. They regarded it, that is to say, as an association of mutually independent states, equal in political status and with co-ordinate legislatures, but united by having a common executive head. Though the transformation of the Empire into a Commonwealth of Nations has not been affected by the imperial theories of the early British radicals, their ideals have come to be realized in the present relations between Great Britain and the Dominions.

Professor Basil Williams, the new head of the historical department in McGill University, Montreal, formerly secretary of the Transvaal Education Department, narrated one chapter of the long historic process which was the theme of Sir Robert Borden's address, in a paper entitled How the Difficulties of South African Union were Overcome. Of the four English-speaking federations, the South African exhibits the closest union of the constituent parts, yet it was

brought about rapidly and with surprising ease, in spite of obstacles which had long seemed formidable. Of the difficulties which existed before the South African war, some were lessened by the outcome of that conflict. Lord Selborne's despatch of January, 1907, drew attention forcibly to the evils of disunion. The chief difficulties that lay before the convention of 1908-1909 lay in the language question, that respecting the degree of closeness in federal union, the native question, that of the state railways, and that of the location of the federal capital. The racial difference, of English and Dutch, proved, strange to say, a bond of union, for the English and Dutch populations, instead of being separated into large geographical groups, were so utterly intermingled that disunion meant ruin for all. The achievement of union in South Africa shows what the world could do if the nations could be made to see with equal clearness the common good and would choose the path to its attainment.

The broad field of Chinese history was illustrated by Mr. K. L. Lo, of Columbia University, in a paper on the Present Outlook for Chinese Historical Studies, in which he dwelt upon the tendency of modern Chinese historians to emphasize the continuity of history, the general characters of its successive stages, the interaction between man and his environment, and the history of ideas. Examples were cited. Especial attention was drawn to the first volume of Professor Chi-Chao Liang's *History of Chinese Culture*, an introduction to historical methodology, as applied to Chinese history, which by its careful discussion of the sources is likely to be useful to Western scholars, while, conversely, a group of Chinese scholars are engaged in restudying and rewriting the history of the Yuan dynasty by utilizing the materials in Western languages. He also referred to important recent archaeological discoveries, such as those made by Sir Aurel Stein, casting a flood of light on the period of wars with the Huns, and on the relations of China with the lands lying to the westward.

In Japanese history, Professor K. Asakawa, of Yale University, presented a study of the Evolution of the Fief in Japan, from the emergence of the warrior in the tenth and eleventh centuries to the end of the sixteenth. When the period began, legal usages concerning lands were already well established, and relations of vassalage had to be built upon the existing system of domains and tenures, under the control of civil officials and non-military landlords. To them the warriors rendered various charges for their holdings, which at the same time received a sort of mediate investiture at the hands of military lords, to whom homage and service were done. True

military fiefs were rare; but during the period of civil war after the fourteenth century, the military chieftains became the normal lords of domains and grantors of fiefs. During the next two centuries the seignories became distinct and largely contiguous territories, comprising fiefs and centrally administered spheres, both ruled over by the warrior class, and superposed upon a mass of more or less self-governing towns and peasant communities. This system the suzerain consolidated into an empire half feudal and half non-feudal.

In one of the sessions held jointly with the Archaeological Institute, Dr. Sylvanus G. Morley, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, gave an illustrated lecture of remarkable interest on History and Chronology in Ancient Middle America. The speaker, noted for explorations and discoveries in the field of Maya civilization, described the five main sources for the reconstruction of Maya history: the general archaeological background; the hieroglyphic inscriptions upon monuments and buildings, which indicate with remarkable accuracy the dates of these structures, according to a system of chronology which we are now able to interpret; the hieroglyphic manuscripts or codices, of a more cursive script than the preceding—but the three extant Maya codices are unfortunately not historical, as are some of the Aztec; the native Maya chronicles in the Books of Chilán Balam, of which we have transcripts in Spanish lettering; and the writings of Spanish and native chroniclers subsequent to the conquest. From the earliest dated object, 96 B. C., the evidences of Maya civilization extend in a long series, marked by writings, temples, palaces, carvings, gold-work and other jewelry, and fabrics. The lecturer displayed the high artistic quality of the remains, and compared them with those which have come down to us from Egypt, Chaldaea, Babylonia, and Assyria.

In a comprehensive and suggestive essay on the Frontier in Hispanic American History, Professor Victor A. Belaunde, of the University of San Marcos, Lima, took as his basis of comparison the exposition given in Professor Turner's famous paper on the Significance of the Frontier in (North) American History,⁵ and set himself to show why Latin American history had not exhibited similar results—progressive advance of settlement, marked by individualism, solid economic development, and democratic equality. Throughout most parts of Mexico and South America the physical geography was such as to tempt to a pioneering advance and sudden individual acquisition of large possessions rather than to the gradual, agricultural occupation of large contiguous areas by masses of settlers. Even in

⁵ *Annual Report of the Association for 1893.*

the pampas of Argentina and the other lands of the La Plata, where physical conditions are more like those of the United States, historic conditions have led to the system of great estates and not to institutions of democracy. The lack of progressively advancing frontiers has joined with factors of race, religion, and governmental system to prevent such a process of assimilation of adjoining areas as has marked the history of Teutonic America.

One of the most interesting of the institutions of Spanish colonial expansion was treated by Dr. Edward L. Stevenson, of the Hispanic Society of America, in a paper on the Geographical Activities of the Casa de Contratacion, which he traced from the founding of that institution in 1503 and that of its geographical department in 1508. Its functions embraced especially the drafting of maps of the newly discovered regions and the examination and supervision of pilots. Dr. Stevenson dwelt especially upon the first of these functions, and especially upon the Padron Real, or official general map, to which pilots were to contribute their successive discoveries or amendments, and which the pilot major, the cosmographer major, and other officials of the Casa, were from time to time ordered to revise. He showed how its characteristics can be deduced from extant maps.

In the history of the English colonies in America, there were two papers to note, that of Professor Rayner W. Kelsey, of Haverford College, on Description and Travel as Source Material for the History of Early Agriculture in Pennsylvania, and that of Mr. James T. Adams on Opportunities for Research in the Eighteenth Century. The former, though it drew its illustrations chiefly from the narratives of travellers in Pennsylvania, discussed on general grounds the manner in which such data can be used, in conjunction with other materials, for the history of American agriculture. Examples were first chosen from the references to soil improvement, which are scanty before 1775, but abundant and instructive after that date. Another variety of observations touched upon consisted of those relating to prices and wages. Thus, the cost of farm labor measured in terms of wheat seems to have remained fairly constant from 1682 to 1794, a day's labor buying from a third to a half of a bushel of wheat (in these latest years, it has bought from a bushel to a hushel and a quarter). The paper also contained observations on the testimony of individual travellers, especially that of Cazenove, 1794. There was also read in one of the agricultural sessions an account of the Development of Agricultural Societies in America by Dr. Rodney H. True, of the University of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Adams's paper, which we shall have the pleasure of printing in a subsequent number, directed especial attention to the need of

studying more fully the process by which, between 1713 and 1763, the soil of America was prepared for the growth of revolutionary radicalism in the ensuing period. So far as concerns New England, he indicated the importance of tracing certain economic processes, especially the increasing pressure on the land and the decrease of opportunity for men without capital; also, the importance of studying, in due proportion, other parts of New England than merely eastern Massachusetts.

For the Revolutionary period, Professor Edward E. Curtis, of Wellesley College, contributed a paper having value for both British and American history, on the Recruiting of the British Army in the time of the American Revolution, studying both the processes by which men were raised in Britain in sufficient numbers to increase the army from 48,000 men in 1775 to a paper strength in 1781 of 110,000 men, exclusive of provincial corps and German mercenaries, and the processes by which the framework of the army was expanded to receive the additions. The former included the processes of voluntary enlistment, with payment of bounties, and that of pardoning malefactors on condition of enlistment. Later it became necessary to resort to impressment and the aid of justices of the peace in delivering idle men or those having no visible means of support; but such enactments had their chief effect in the stimulating of voluntary enlistment. The additional men were partly incorporated in existing regiments, partly made up into new; thus, between 1778 and 1781 thirty-one additional regiments of foot were created. The special efforts of noblemen, cities, and towns in raising regiments were also described.

A career belonging to both the Revolutionary and the post-Revolutionary periods was described by Dr. Charles L. Nichols, of Worcester, in a paper on Isaiah Thomas, Printer and Publisher. Besides setting forth the events of Thomas's life, and the methods of conducting his business, with its central establishment at Worcester and branch offices and bookstores at Walpole, New Hampshire, at Boston, and elsewhere, Dr. Nichols described the product of Thomas's presses and the good effect produced throughout the country by his standard publications for the various professions and especially by the educational books he issued.

Dr. Gaillard Hunt, of the Department of State, traced the Genesis of the Office of Secretary of State as head of the department of foreign affairs and as chancellor of the American government. The beginning of the former office was the institution by the Continental

Congress of a Committee of Secret Correspondence, which later became the Committee for Foreign Affairs. In January, 1781, Congress created the Department of Foreign Affairs, under a Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Of the duties which the present Secretary of State has outside the field of foreign affairs, the original elements came to him by devolution from the office of the secretary of the Continental Congress.

Some Salient Characteristics of Frontier Religion were treated in a paper by Professor William W. Sweet, of De Pauw University, who dwelt upon revivals and camp-meetings, the various developments of the Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches, the origins of the Cumberland Presbyterians and the Disciples, the nature of the religious debates and controversies which had so large a part in the life of the new regions, and the characteristics of the frontier type of preaching.

The paper of Professor St. George L. Sioussat, of the University of Pennsylvania, on Southern Projects for a Railroad to the Pacific, 1845-1857, was limited to a discussion of the development of Southern interest in the route by way of the valley of the Gila River and to an account of the scheme promoted by Robert J. Walker and his associates in 1852 and the years immediately following. Walker planned to build a railroad to California along the Gila route through the agency of a corporation which was chartered by the state of New York and which was to exploit the land-grants so lavishly offered by the state of Texas. The paper traced the relation to this scheme of the bills that were before Congress in 1853, the attitude of the Pierce administration, the significance in this connection of the Gadsden mission, and the division of Southern sentiment revealed at the session of the Southern Commercial Convention held at Charleston in the spring of 1854.

The only paper relating to the diplomatic history of the United States was that of Mr. Tyler Dennett, of Washington, on Early American Policy in Korea, an intensive study of the period from the beginning of American diplomatic relations with the peninsula in 1883 to the recall of Lieutenant George C. Foulk, our representative, in 1887. The Shufeldt treaty of 1882 was negotiated in the hope that Korea might be assisted to a renovation similar to that which Japan experienced after the Perry Expedition. But while the Japanese could carry that process through without losing their evidences of sovereignty, the Koreans immediately became the centre of a contest of China, Great Britain, Russia, and Japan, in respect to which the United States quickly adopted a policy of strict neutrality. The

story was carried through three attempts, by Japan, Russia, and China respectively, to subvert the Korean government. The recall of Foulk at the request of China showed the desire of the United States government to remain outside the contest, recognizing the ascendancy of any successful power, as in 1905 it recognized that of Japan.

The rural political movements of the 'eighties and 'nineties in one state and another have been the theme of several interesting studies presented at recent meetings of the Association. This year this type of study was represented by a paper on the Farmer's Alliance in North Carolina, by Professor John D. Hicks, of the North Carolina College for Women, who traced the history of that organization down to the time when it completed its control of the Democratic party in the state, in 1890, described its state legislation, and showed how its need of federal legislation led many of its members to gravitate to the People's Party, disrupting the Democratic party and for a time admitting the Republicans to power. Though the Alliance ended unfortunately, yet within the state it contributed immeasurably to the social and fraternal life of the rural classes, promoted scientific agriculture, established a business agency which saved the farmers thousands of dollars, forced the creation of a serviceable railway commission and the enactment of a six per cent. interest law, and drove from power the ruling caste of elderly politicians whose conservatism had for years thwarted progress. In the national field the North Carolina Alliancemen bore their part in the struggle for regulation of trusts and railways, and in financial movements that entered usefully into the final results of the Federal Reserve System and the Federal Farm Land Bank.

To the same period belonged the study of the Abandoned Farms of New England, by Mr. Avery O. Craven, of the University of Chicago, who explained however that the abandoned farms, whose number excited so much disquietude about 1890, were but a symptom of agricultural difficulties under which New England had long been suffering, but which at that time were already beginning to yield somewhat to the ameliorating effects of increased co-operation and more scientific farming.

To the latest period of all belonged the paper of Professor Holland Thompson, of the College of the City of New York, on Some Newer Aspects of the Negro Problem. Its essence was, that in recent years a new spirit of race consciousness had been taking possession of the negro, caused by the efforts of certain negro organizations, by the great volume of migration from the South to the North, by the large influx of West Indian negroes, not accustomed to racial

discrimination, by various reactions from the World War, such as those arising from segregation and discrimination in army camps and elsewhere and from the absence of race-prejudice in France, and by the great increase in the circulation of negro publications. The influence of Marcus Garvey and his projects was also touched upon, and the increasing influence of racial interests upon negro voting.

Finally, two papers dealt with episodes of recent Spanish American history, that of Professor Charles W. Hackett, of the University of Texas, on the Recognition of the Díaz Government by the United States, and that of Professor Clarence H. Haring, of Yale University, on German Colonization of Chile. While General Díaz, after displacing President Lerdo de Tejada, was ruling Mexico through a provisional government, President Grant's administration took into consideration the question of recognition because it apprehended that without such recognition it might not receive payment in January, 1877, of the first installment due from awards of the Mixed Claims Commission. Díaz however paid this, regardless of recognition, and the question was left to the Hayes administration, Díaz having meantime, in February, been elected constitutional president. In September the Hayes government demanded, as a prerequisite to recognition, the settlement in a formal treaty of all questions, economic as well as administrative, then in dispute between the two countries. Finally, however, Mr. John W. Foster, minister to Mexico, persuaded the administration that a better treaty could be obtained after recognition, and recognition was effected, April 9, 1878.

Mr. Haring's story began with the arrival of a small number of German colonists in 1846, followed by a larger amount of immigration resulting from the revolutionary movements of 1848 in Germany. The influx, mainly into the provinces of Valdivia and Llanquihue, continued in increasing numbers till 1860, after which it rapidly declined, but it furnished southern Chile with an element of population that has made important contributions to the industrial, scientific, and educational development of the republic. During the World War this element showed itself plainly loyal to Chile.

Reviewing the papers as a whole, it must be said that few made highly important contributions to the knowledge of history. Some presented little that is not already well made known in print. But the general level was good, without being extraordinarily high.

Next, it remains to report the proceedings of the business meeting, which was held on the second afternoon, the president, Professor Haskins, presiding. The record cannot be a long one, for the meeting was badly hurried and ill attended, as was natural when the pro-

gramme set one of the conferences to begin at two o'clock and two of the others at three o'clock, while the business meeting was scheduled to take place at 4:00, a reception at 4:30, and one of the dinners at 5:30. Naturally, there was little discussion of reports, and the recommendations of the council were adopted rapidly. Fortunately they contained nothing startling or dangerous.

The secretary reported that during the year there had been a loss of 41 members, the present membership being 2591, as compared with 2632 in the preceding year. It will be seen that the increase in membership dues from three dollars to five, effective September 1, 1922, has resulted in no material loss of membership. On the other hand, the treasurer's report showed that during the year the net receipts amounted to \$14,043, as against the net receipts of \$12,523 in the preceding year. The net expenditures during the year were \$12,511 as against \$12,687 in the year preceding. These figures are arrived at by ignoring for the sake of simplicity the sums reported as cash balances and those transferred from fund to fund by reason of investments. A more formal presentation of the matter may be found in the summary of the treasurer's accounts which is appended to this article, together with the budget for 1923 as framed by the council.

It is plain that the increase of the annual dues, while it has had no serious effect upon the increase of membership, has considerably increased the revenues of the society. It is however hoped that the receipts may be still further increased during the coming year in order that the various activities of the Association may be carried forward. The secretary called especial attention to the considerable number of withdrawals each year and hoped that some means might be devised for reducing the number, mentioning that the committee on membership, which had the matter under consideration, would welcome any suggestions that might be offered. An active effort to increase the endowment is also planned for the coming year.

Reports from various committees were submitted, as also one of the Pacific Coast Branch, which was represented at the meeting by Professor Ephraim D. Adams. The newly organized Canadian Historical Association had also been invited to send a delegate, and Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee, its president, attending in that capacity, addressed the meeting briefly, by request, on behalf of that society. A resolution was passed authorizing the Committee on Publications to bring together all materials for reports for the years 1920, 1921, and 1922, and to publish them in one volume, as *Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1920-1922*, vol. I. The committee on the Justin Winsor Prize reported that the prize had been awarded

to Mr. Lawrence H. Gipson, for an essay on *Jared Ingersoll: a Study of American Loyalism in relation to British Colonial Government*, published in 1920.

The committee on the George Louis Beer Prize recommended no award, the competition having been insufficient. No doubt this was because of the short time elapsing between the announcement of terms of award, a year ago, and the date prescribed for submission of essays. It seems certain that a valuable prize, offered for the "best work upon any phase of European international history since the year 1895", will elicit abundant competition.

The number of essays and manuscripts offered in competition for the other prizes has of late been so large that the period from July 1 to Christmas is not sufficient for their examination by all the members of the committees. The terms governing the competition were therefore so modified that, beginning in 1924, essays must be sent to the chairmen before April 1 instead of July 1. This rule will apply to all three of the prizes, Adams, Winsor, and Beer. In the case of essays already in print, it is required that they shall have been printed within the two years and a quarter preceding the date of submission; that is to say, they may have been published either in the first months of the calendar year in which the award is made or in either of the two calendar years preceding.

In the annual election Professor Edward P. Cheyney was elected president, Honorable Woodrow Wilson first vice-president, and Professor Charles M. Andrews second vice-president. Professor Bassett and Mr. Moore were re-elected secretary and treasurer respectively. Two new members were elected as members of the Executive Council, Dr. H. P. Biggar and Miss Mary W. Williams. The membership of the Committee on Nominations for the ensuing year consists of Professors E. D. Adams, J. G. deR. Hamilton, W. E. Lingelbach, Nellie Neilson, and W. L. Westermann; the committee has not yet been able to effect by correspondence the choice of its chairman.

The Executive Council elected Professor D. C. Munro to fill the vacancy on the Board of Editors of this journal caused by the death of Professor Williston Walker, and Professor Evarts B. Greene was elected in place of Professor Becker, whose term had expired. A full list of committee assignments for 1923 follows this article.

J. F. J.

SUMMARY OF TREASURER'S REPORT

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand December 1, 1921.....	\$ 2,597.43
Receipts to date:	
Annual dues.....	\$10,763.94
Contributions from members.....	648.00
Registration fees.....	162.50
Publications	304.58
Royalties	83.18
Interest, Endowment Fund.....	1,477.80
Interest, bank account.....	75.23
Special contribution from American Historical Review Fund.....	500.00
Miscellaneous	27.80
Repayment from Endowment Fund.....	1,119.12
	<hr/> 15,162.15
Total receipts.....	\$17,759.58

EXPENDITURES

Office of secretary and treasurer.....	\$3,017.68
Pacific Coast Branch.....	39.46
Committee on Nominations.....	54.00
Committee on Membership.....	22.25
Committee on Programme.....	308.74
Committee on Local Arrangements.....	112.28
Committee on Agenda.....	286.45
Committee on Bibliography.....	238.17
Committee on Publications.....	426.01
Conference of Historical Societies.....	24.95
Writings on American History.....	200.00
American Council of Learned Societies.....	153.54
Herbert Baxter Adams Prize.....	200.00
Justin Winsor Prize.....	200.00
American Historical Review.....	7,227.90
	<hr/> 12,511.43
Cash balance November 30, 1922.....	\$ 5,248.15

ENDOWMENT FUNDS

	Cost	Par value
Principal account.....	\$32,011.60 ⁶	\$33,500.00 ⁶
American Historical Review Fund.....	1,134.64	1,200.00
George L. Beer Prize Fund.....	4,930.35	5,000.00
Andrew D. White Fund.....	1,037.48	1,200.00
Life Membership Fund, balance, \$330.88.		

⁶ Of these sums, \$1119.12 in cost and \$1200.00 in par value represent investments on account of the Life Membership Fund.

BUDGET, 1923

Receipts:

Annual dues.....	\$11,500.00
Registration fees.....	150.00
Publications	100.00
Royalties	150.00
Interest	1,800.00
Miscellaneous	50.00
	<hr/> \$13,750.00

Expenditures:

Secretary and Treasurer.....	\$ 3,000.00
Pacific Coast Branch.....	50.00
Committee on Nominations.....	100.00
Committee on Membership.....	100.00
Committee on Programme.....	350.00
Committee on Local Arrangements.....	150.00
Committee on Publications.....	500.00
Conference of Historical Societies.....	25.00
Executive Council meeting.....	500.00
American Historical Review.....	7,500.00
Justin Winsor Prize.....	200.00
Writings on American History.....	200.00
American Council of Learned Societies.....	160.00
Committee on Bibliography.....	500.00
Committee on Research in Colleges.....	50.00
Committee on History Teaching in Schools....	50.00
	<hr/> \$13,435.00

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⁷ For the purposes of routine business the treasurer may be addressed at 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

⁸ The names from that of Mr. Rhodes to that of Mr. Haskins are those of ex-presidents.

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GERMAN FEUDALISM

WHILE the roots of the history of feudal Germany may be traced as far back as the time of Charlemagne, and beyond, it is unnecessary for the purpose of this article to go farther back than the dissolution of the Carolingian empire in the ninth century. In the awful crucible of that age, a period of vast disintegration of political and social institutions within, combined with attack from without by formidable enemies like the Norsemen and the Magyars, central and western Europe was transformed. A new polity and a new society emerged out of the vortex.

But the process of change was not simultaneous in France and Germany; it was not accomplished in equal degree everywhere, nor did it result everywhere in establishing identical conditions. While feudalism became universal in medieval Europe, the local variations and differences between French feudalism, English feudalism, German feudalism, and Italian feudalism are often so great that the four forms may usually be studied more profitably by contrast than by analogy.

Roughly speaking, the process which began in France as early as 814 affected Germany but slightly until 887, except in the lower Rhinelands. The deposition of Charles the Fat in 887 and the accession of Arnulf was the real turning-point of German history. From that date forward the old Carolingian régime rapidly dissolved, and a new, more feudal form of government and structure of society took its place. This process of transformation may be said to fill the reigns of Arnulf and his son Ludwig the Child (d. 911), the last eastern Carolingian, the abortive reign of Conrad I. (911-919), and the reign of Henry I. (919-936), the first Saxon king, by whose time a new Germany had been formed, a new kind of government, a new social texture, which harmonized with the spirit and the condition of the new age.

The enormous disarray which characterized the history of western Europe in the ninth century was less ruinous to Germany than to France. The German kings were made of sterner stuff than those across the Rhine. The invasions of the Norsemen had only menaced the lower Rhinelands, and were not nearly so prolonged in Germany as in France. The chief danger was along the eastern border, where Slavonic and Magyar pressure, even before the notable military re-

forms made by Henry the Fowler, had their influence upon the development of predial serfdom and the growth of feudal practices.¹

Germany in the ninth century had a solidity which France did not possess. Actual anarchy such as prevailed in France almost continuously from the time of Charles the Bald (840-877) to the time of Louis VI. (1108-1137) is not found in Germany except during the minority reign of Ludwig the Child.² It is true that the reign of Conrad I., his successor, was fraught with violence; yet the power of the Church and the strength of the great dukes in some measure compensated for the weakness of the crown.³

Germany being less exposed to attack from the outside and possessed of a firmer texture within than France, German feudalism did not become as hard and set a system as was French feudalism. "Old" France crumbled away in the ninth and tenth centuries; "old" Germany, anchored to the ancient duchies which remained intact, retained its integrity. The tribal dukes recognized the office of the king, but they did not admit that they held their duchies of the crown, or that they held their lands of the king, even when such lands had the aspects of fiefs. The German nobility always included a large number of landed nobles who regarded their possessions as huge allods which they might partition as fiefs when it so pleased them; but they rhetorically called their own great fiefs "Sonnenlehen" or "sun fiefs" in order to express their complete freedom—they held only of the sun.⁴

The power of the great German dukes had been formed during the troubled times of Arnulf and his son. The separate German "nations", Franks, Swabians, Bavarians, which had developed into dukedoms under the Merovingians (Saxon ducal development originated in Charlemagne's time), and had been suppressed but not extinguished by Charlemagne, rose again into newness of life. With the break-up of the Empire came a recrudescence of ancient tribal consciousness. The grouping of the various German "nations" was instinctive and pronounced.⁵

¹ Waitz, *Jahrb.*, p. 63; Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, II. 686, note 6; Sommerlad, *Die Wirtschaftliche Tätigkeit der Kirche in Deutschland*, II. 226.

² Waitz, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, second ed., V. 59 ff. Cf. the elegy upon Salomon, bishop of Constance, in *Mittheil. der Antiqu. Gesellschaft in Zürich*, XII. 233, verses 117 ff.

³ Waitz, *D. V. G.*, V. 65-66.

⁴ Later these *Sonnenlehen* came to be called *Fahnlehen*, or banner-fiefs, because investiture was conferred by a *vexillum* or banner. At first only the duchies were of this rank, then margraviates, and finally any princely fiefs. Its gift conferred the right to levy military service of vassals, hence the saying: "Es erhöht nichts des Mannes Schild denn Fahnlehen."

⁵ Arnold of Bavaria assumed the title of "duke by the grace of God"; *Vita*

This rise of the stem-dukes whom Charlemagne had so coerced was the result of the instinctive and spontaneous rally of the German people, owing to the stress of the time, around their natural and historical tribal representatives.⁶ In Saxony especially the ducal movement was strong, for there the ancient Germanic tradition was less impaired than elsewhere.⁷ The stem-dukes were only able to reappear after the collapse of the Carolingian system. The same thing is true of the German nobility, which had disappeared during the sixth and seventh centuries and been supplanted by Frankish officials. When the latter vanished, the old nobility came up again.

At this moment when the old German duchies arose once more the territory of Germany was not divided into a swarm of petty sovereignties as in France. The power of the great dukes still rested upon a considerable body of freemen who cultivated the soil in person, upon some vassals without fiefs, upon certain local officials such as counts and *centenarii*. In a word, in Germany until the end of the ninth century much of the Charlemagnic régime persisted. In France, on the other hand, all the ancient political and social bonds were loosed and new ones had to be formed in order to save the country from utter dissolution.⁸

Oudalrici, ch. 3 (*M. G. H.*, SS., IV. 389). Under Henry I. the dukes coined their own money, convoked assemblies, administered justice, and controlled the Church within their territories; Waitz, V. 72; Hauck, *op. cit.*, III. 8-9; Lamprecht, *Deutsche Geschichte*, third ed., II. 127. When Conrad I. put Adalbert of Babenberg to death in 906 his people were furious; Regino, *Chronicon*, anno 906. The position of the great dukes in the tenth century really represented a reversion to the type of duchy which prevailed in Merovingian times. The dukes had then exercised all the rights of sovereignty as dukes, and not as Frankish officials, although they depended upon the Merovingian crown. Royal confirmation was mingled with popular choice and quasi-hereditary right. In Swabia and Thuringia the dukes had to pay tribute and to follow the king in war. The fall of Tassilo in 788 ended this ancient status, and during the reign of Charlemagne the duchies were practically administrative provinces of the Frank empire. When the Empire went to pieces the duchies emerged and resumed their old condition once more. See Bornhak, in *Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte*, vol. XXIII., no. 3.

⁶ Henry II. in 1002 recognized this local feeling in the German duchies when he refused the demand of Henry, count of Schweinfurt and margrave of the Bavarian Nordgau, that he be made duke of Bavaria. The king said: "Nonne scitis . . . Bawarios ab initio ducem eligendi liberam habere potestatem; non decere tam subito eos abicere neque constitutionis antique jus absque consensu eorum frangere? Si voluisset expectare usque dum ipse ad has regiones venirem, cum communi consilio principum eorundem ac voluntate sibi libenter in hoc satisfacerem." Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chron.*, V. 14.

⁷ Waitz, *Jahrb.*, p. 9; *D. V. G.*, V. 43.

⁸ For details of this history see Guilhiermoz, *L'Origine de la Noblesse en France au Moyen-Age*, p. 143 and notes; Flach, *Les Origines de l'Ancienne France*, vol. II., bk. 3, chs. 6-8; and my article on "The Commerce of France in the Ninth Century", in *Jour. Pol. Economy*, November, 1915.

When the power of the crown was reduced to impotence under Charles the Bald private enterprise or usurpation stepped in and performed the functions of government. When the cry arose for protection against invading Norsemen in the north and foraying Saracens in the south, the land of France began to bristle with feudal castles. By the year 1000 the horizon of every province of France was fretted with looming bastions profiled against the sky.⁹

Inchoate feudalism first crystallized in France into a form of government and a structure of society by the union of the benefice or fief with vassalage, and adoption of the principles of recommendation and homage.¹⁰ In Germany the benefice was long unknown. Great lay and ecclesiastical proprietorships were first developed in France, especially in old Neustria.¹¹ In Germany both forms were chronologically of later origin, and when formed were technically different from the French practices. In France feudalism was rapidly militarized as the result of chronic conditions of warfare. In Germany the old German *Heerban* survived for centuries, and when the art of war at last became feudalized, the conditions were very different from those prevailing in France. The earliest instances of the delegation or seizure of the sovereign power of the state, which is of the very essence of feudalism, by public officials or vassals, occur in France, not Germany.¹² The partibility of fiefs appeared in France long before the practice became manifest in Germany. In France the principle of the heritability of fiefs was old when it was yet new in Germany.¹³ The ancient French maxim *nulle terre sans seigneur* never became universal or anything like it in medieval Germany, and allodial ownership was far more widespread in feudal Germany than in feudal France.¹⁴

The military reforms made by Henry the Fowler, remarkable as they were, did not make that radical and immediate change in institutions or social texture usually attributed to them. Military feudalism was of relatively late appearance in Germany when compared

⁹ See the striking descriptive paragraph in Ferdinand Lot, *Hugues Capet*, pp. 236-237.

¹⁰ Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, II. 262; Guilhiermoz, *op. cit.*, pp. 77, 127.

¹¹ Brunner, *op. cit.*, II. 226; Guilhiermoz, p. 77.

¹² Brunner, II. 253-255; Waitz, VII. 10; R. Schröder, *Lehrbuch der Deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*, III. 128.

¹³ Heritability of fiefs began to prevail in Italy in the eleventh century, and in Germany in the twelfth; Guilhiermoz, p. 241. The Italian word *capitaneus* = vassal penetrated into Swabia, but not elsewhere in Germany; Waitz, V. 464.

¹⁴ Lamprecht, *op. cit.*, II. 87-88, 109-111; Brunner, *Forsch.*, I. 39, and his *Rechtsgeschichte*, II. 246-247, 250, 255 ff., 265 ff., 273 ff.; Maurer, *Einleitung zur Geschichte der Mark-, Hof-, Dorf- und Stadtverfassung*, p. 214.

with France. Indeed, until the twelfth century, anything approaching the régime which prevailed in France was foreign to Germany, except along the French border.

As a whole, both administratively and socially, medieval Germany until the end of the Salian period was predominantly Carolingian. What the ninth century did for France in transforming her into a feudal country was not done in Germany until the civil wars of the reign of Henry IV., and even then the process was less complete and very different in result. Feudalism, at least in the French sense of that term, neither deeply permeated the German military or administrative system, nor saturated the land and society so fully as in France. When feudalism at last became "formed" in medieval Germany the contrasts between its institutions and those of France are more striking than the analogies. As for feudal identities they hardly may be said to have existed.

The benefice system in Germany, except in the case of church lands, was not widely spread. Vassalage in France was primarily a military relation. In Germany it was chiefly an economic one until the time of the Hohenstaufen.¹⁵ In France, outside of Auvergne, where freemen were still in preponderance as late as the eleventh century, to cultivate the soil in person implied loss of status and often loss of liberty. In Germany, and above all in Saxony, agriculture did not condition status until the twelfth century.¹⁶ By that time the general rebellion of the German feudality in the west and south, combined with the revolt of the peasantry in Saxony, had so nearly ruined the land that freemen everywhere were depressed, great nobles, lay and clerical, had become greater, and a swarm of parvenu nobles come into being, all of whom rose upon the debris of the Salian system.

In France warriors without fief, living in the château of the lord and doing his service, were yet noble. In Germany castle-guard and similar services were performed by ex-serfs, *i.e.*, *ministeriales*.¹⁷ In France, at least in theory and in principle, every noble had a château and a fief. In Germany the lord rewarded his vassals with gifts, as horses, arms, etc.; suzerainty and vassalage were largely an economic and social relation.¹⁸ In the *Ruodlieb*, one of the earliest of medieval

¹⁵ Brunner, II. 248, 262 ff.; Roth von Schreckenstein, *Ritterwürde*, p. 59; Guilhiermoz, pp. 197 (note 5), 265, 298.

¹⁶ Guilhiermoz, p. 115 and notes; Lamprecht, *Études sur l'État Économique de la France pendant la Première Partie du Moyen-Âge*, trans. Marignan, p. 199; Levasseur, *Histoire des Classes Ouvrières*, I. 162.

¹⁷ Guilhiermoz, p. 114, note 28.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 143 (note 20), 165 (note 77), 242-243. In Ottonian times the real nobility of Germany was composed of counts who were paid out of the public domain; Gerdes, *Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes*, I. 404.

German poems, being of the eleventh century, there is no mention made of fiefs in the enumeration made to the hero of the advantages which will arise from his entering the king's service.¹⁹ Not until the twelfth century does the reward of a German vassal regularly take the form of a gift of fief.²⁰ In the eleventh century almost all the instances of benefices conferred upon condition of military service occur in the border lands adjacent to France, as Lorraine and Burgundy.²¹

Even then these German feudatories but slightly resembled their French congeners, for they were checked on every hand by the counts, the bishops, and the counts palatine, who were strictly royal functionaries; they could not indulge the right of war as in France without peril, nor coin money nor administer anything save simple justice. They had few political attributes, and no sovereignty.²² In brief, German vassalage was simple and curtailed when compared with the institution as it prevailed in France.²³ The strong hand of the German kings prevented the growth both of a tyrannous higher feudality and the nuisance of a petty feudality until the War of Investiture and the rebellion of Saxony threw all Germany into confusion and anarchy, the effect of which was to relax the power of the crown and profoundly to alter the institutions of feudalism and the texture of society.

Personal vassals, *i.e.*, vassals without fief, are to be found in Germany as late as the *Sachsenspiegel*, although by that time they were an exception to the general condition.²⁴ This archaic form of vassalage especially survived in Saxony, but even in north Germany much of the old order of things passed away during the reign of Henry IV.²⁵ Then strong freemen became nobles and were bound

¹⁹ *Ruodlieb*, I., verses 97 ff.; Waitz, *D. V. G.*, VI. 44.

²⁰ Ficker, *Vom Heerschilde*, p. 165; Guilhaumez, p. 163, note 4. The conservative nature of the benefice in Germany is shown in the *Constitutio* of Lothar in 1136 (*M. G. H., Leges*, n. s., IV. 176); the grant is still Carolingian in character. Cf. Guilhaumez, p. 114, note 26 *ad fin.* Even as late as the thirteenth century German law carefully distinguished fiefs formed from allods from the older type of benefice. Guilhaumez, *ubi supra*, and pp. 265 (note 30), 298-301.

²¹ Thietmar, *Chron.*, VI. 36 (SS., III.); *Vita Meinwerki* (SS., XI. 125); *Chron. Laurehamense* [Lorsch], anno 1066 (SS., XXI. 415, 434-435); Dronke, *Codex Diplomaticus Fuldensis*, p. 359, no. 749.

²² Gerdes, I. 396; Schröder, pp. 536-537.

²³ Brunner, II. 273-274.

²⁴ Homeyer, *Sachsenspiegel*, pt. 2, vol. I., p. 159; Guilhaumez, p. 236, note 2 *ad fin.*

²⁵ Thus Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburg. Eccles. Pontif.* (III. 35), says of Adalbert the archbishop: "cum omnes qui erant in Saxonia sive in aliis regionibus clari et magnifici viri adoptaret in milites, multis dando quod habuit,

to higher lords by ties of vassalage and homage, while weaker freemen went down to serfdom under the stress.²⁶ The Saxon and Thuringian peasantry rebelled against Henry IV. in 1075 just because they were free and determined to preserve their freedom when the peasantry almost everywhere else in Germany had already sunk, or were sinking, to serfdom.

As it was with vassalage so also was it with rear-vassalage or subinfeudation. French law never imposed a limit upon the number of successive subinfeudations. In Germany subinfeudation itself was a late practice as feudal origins go, and never reached the meticulous degree that obtained in France. Until the time of the Staufer Germany had a powerful nobility, but that nobility was not oppressive, while France as late as the reign of St. Louis exhibits many of the phenomena of feudal anarchy. In their relations with the king the German nobles had more liberty than English and Norman barons under the Angevins, but it was a liberty preserved only through allegiance to the king's law.

In Germany, as compared with France, the proportion of great nobles was small, and the number of lesser nobles not nearly so large as in France.²⁷ On the other hand there were many more freemen in Germany than in France—at least until the late twelfth century. Aside from the bishops and abbots of the "royal" monasteries, of whom military service was rigidly exacted in virtue of the vast landed possessions which the largess of the Saxon kings had conferred upon them, there were relatively few real military vassals in the strict sense of that term, *i.e.*, nobles who held fiefs subject to military service, and most of these were to be found along the French border.²⁸ In Germany field-service and castle-guard were sharply distinguished until Hohenstaufen times; in France there is close relation and often confusion between the practices.²⁹

In medieval Germany "the art of war was a necessary episcopal accomplishment" to a far greater degree than in either France or *ceteris pollicendo quod non habuit. . .*" Farther on (III. 48) he writes, again of Adalbert, "*cum tyranno [Magnus Billung] fedus pepigit ut, qui hostis erat, miles efficeretur, offerens ei de bonis ecclesiae mille mansos in beneficium et amplius*". Lambert of Hersfeld abounds with details about Henry IV.'s Saxon policy and its effects, but see especially *Annales*, ed. Holder-Egger, pp. 238, 260.

²⁶ Lambert of Hersfeld, pp. 141, 146-148; Bruno, *Liber de Bello Saxonico*, chs. 16, 23-25, 127.

²⁷ The children of small nobles were often pledged to the service of the larger ones. For examples see *Vita Brunonis*, ch. 13; Thietmar, IV. 15, 22, and VI. 52.

²⁸ Cf. note 21.

²⁹ Guilhiermoz, pp. 298 ff.

England. Feudal France produced few bishops like Adhemar of Puy and Philip of Beauvais. The latter accompanied Philip Augustus to the East on the Third Crusade, faced the furious charge of the Turkish horse at Arsuf, and shared in the repulse at Acre; his blood-stained hauberk was sent to the pope with the message: "This we have found. Know now whether it be thy son's coat-of-mail or no." As for English fighting bishops, who does not know Richard of Cornwall's famous letter to his brother Edward in 1257 from Cologne? "Lo," wrote Richard, "what mettlesome and warlike archbishops are in Germany. It would be a fine thing for you if you could create such archbishops in England."³⁰ The Barons' War in England in the thirteenth century might have had another issue if the crown had possessed such fighting clergy as feudal Germany possessed.

As far back as the reign of Otto the Great the Saxon policy had engrossed the bishops and "royal" abbots within the German military hierarchy. But the provisions of the Concordat of Worms in 1122 formally made the princes of the German church also princes of the German kingdom, and at this moment the great bishops and abbots officially entered into the military hierarchy with papal consent.³¹ This status once established, in proportion as the ecclesiastical princes entered into the feudal life and institutions of Germany the differences which had formerly distinguished them from the great lay nobles tended to blur together. Their office alone distinguished them from the secular feudality. In blood, in policy, in psychology they were wholly feudalized. But this observation would not justly fit the high clergy of either France or England in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It is this difference of historical process and condition which enabled medieval Germany to produce such fighting bishops as Rainald of Dassel and Christian of Mainz, and not possess such churchmen as Becket, Grosseteste, John of Salisbury, Ivo of Chartres, Maurice de Sully, and Jacques de Vitry.

In Germany feudalism became politically sovereign. In France the growth of the royal power gradually deprived the feudality of power and authority, and reduced it to a social caste. In England the opposition of the baronage and liberal bishops became a consti-

³⁰ *Annals of Burton* (SS., XXVII. 480). The author of the tract entitled *De Unitate Ecclesiae Conservanda*, ch. 18, written during or soon after the War of Investiture, says of the bishops of that time: "quales scilicet episcopi non essent pastores ecclesiarum, sed ductores bellorum, non custodes dominicarum ovium, sed ut graves lupi persecutores earum, interfectores animarum pariter et corporum."

³¹ See Heinrich Schaefer, *Pfarrkirche und Stift im Deutschen Mittelalter* (1903).

tutional opposition and developed one of the most remarkable and beneficial institutional and political processes in history. In Germany bishops, abbots, and barons were bitterly divided against one another after 1197, when the strong hand of the Hohenstaufen was removed, and in the end they wrought the ruin of the German kingdom. In France clergy and nobles alike were made to bend to the king's will. Yet what happened in England might have been achieved in Germany, too, in the twelfth century (a full hundred years before Edward I. and Simon de Montfort) if the Guelph programme could have triumphed. The Hohenstaufen emperors were as self-willed and absolutistic as the Capetian kings, but they could not make their will prevail over Germany as the French kings did in France. The dream of the Guelph house was to establish a federal feudal monarchy in Germany composed of a union of the separate duchies, each of which was to preserve its local "states' rights"—to establish a form of government which would have given simultaneous and due expression to the rights of the crown and the rights of the duchies. But this great and constructive programme was ruined by the despotic policy of Frederick Barbarossa, and the fall of Henry the Lion in 1181 dragged ducal Germany down with Saxony. Never again in German history did the great old duchies play an important part. Upon the debris of the great duchies a swarm of petty, particularistic feudal states arose and Germany, which in the twelfth century hovered upon the verge of creating a wholly new kind of state in Europe, a federated feudal and limited monarchy, drifted in the thirteenth century into the anarchy of the Interregnum. By destroying the Guelphs the Stauffer ruined the only element in feudal Germany capable of accomplishing something like what the barons accomplished for English liberty at Runnymede. The germ of constitutional limited monarchy was implicit as much in the Guelph programme as in the demands of the English barons in 1215.

If now we turn from things feudal to a consideration of things servile and manorial in medieval Germany, again we find marked variations and differences from similar conditions west of the Rhine or in England.

The distance which separated the lord of the manor from his servile dependents in Germany was wider than the same kind of separation in France. In the latter country the necessity of protection threw nobles and peasantry more closely together than in Germany. In France the villages were often, even usually, in close proximity to the castle, crowded against the cliff on which the château stood, or huddled at the foot of the hill within the shadow of the keep. In

Germany, on the other hand, we find few castles until late in the eleventh century. The nobles lived as country gentlemen upon their estates, moving as necessity bade from one to another. The villages of the peasantry were rambling hamlets, often widely scattered. In consequence of these different conditions the German noble lived more aloof from the lower classes than the French noble; he knew less of them and their life; he was less familiar with them. But on the other hand, owing first to the fact that thousands of freemen survived in Germany until as late as the twelfth century, whereas this class in France had long before this date diminished almost to invisibility, and, secondly, owing to the further fact that predial serfdom was late in development in Germany and slow in its spread, the German noble did not have that contempt for the lower classes which is found in medieval France, nor did the German peasantry as a class exhibit that servility which characterized the French peasantry in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The growth of proprietorship—or, to use the convenient German term, *Grundherrschaft*—and of serfdom was both slower and later in Germany than in France. Moreover, the manorial régime which resulted in Germany never had that systematic character which is attached to French manorialism, nor was it ever so universal. *Systemsucht* has been too much a disposition of recent German historical writers in this particular. On the other hand the contention of Gerhard Seeliger³² that too much economic determinism has been introduced into the interpretation of medieval German serfdom, it seems to me, errs in the other direction.

Until relatively late in medieval Germany, as compared with medieval France, a German baron's³³ daily life was not unlike that of an English squire. He was more a proprietor farming his ancestral acres with the labor of a free peasant population than a feudal chieftain with a rout of men-at-arms and retainers always around him, and all living on the forced toil of a servile peasantry. This was especially true in north Germany. His possessions were likely to be surrounded by the outlying farms of free peasants who were his neighbors. His life was "rustic". In the *Ruodlieb* the chief occupation of the baron is to work his fields.³⁴ He is more concerned

³² G. Seeliger, *Die Soziale und Politische Bedeutung der Grundherrschaft im Früheren Mittelalter* (Leipzig, 1903).

³³ The word *baro* was rarely used in the eleventh century, and not common even in the twelfth. I have not found it in Lambert of Hersfeld. It occurs six times in Otto of Freising, *Chronica*. Frequently a qualifying adjective is employed with the word, as *liber baro*, the Latin equivalent of *Freiherr*. Cf. Guiliemoz, p. 158, note 54.

³⁴ Fragment IV., verses 15 ff. Zoepfl, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, p. 351.

about the state of the weather and the condition of his crops than about politics and war; he has few vassals, or none at all, and they are personal vassals without fiefs; a handful of *ministeriales* is enough for house-guard.³⁵

A few castles began to creep into the country in the tenth century, but they were simpler and ruder erections than those of France, and most of them were in the west near the French border.³⁶ Until the War of Investiture and the rebellion of Saxony, with the ensuing anarchy, all castles in Germany were regarded as "adulterine" save the citadels pertaining to the crown, most of which were in the towns, as Frankfort and Regensburg.³⁷ But as German life partook more and more of feudal ways of living, as institutions tended to crystallize and the structure of society to harden, individual castrametation gradually developed and the German nobles began to build castles of their

³⁵ Seifrid Helbling, I., verses 826-829; Ottokar, *Reimchronik*, verses 30727-30755. Cf. Haupe, in *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum*, IV. 164.

³⁶ Castle-building was a typical phenomenon of the ninth century, and a concrete evidence of the breakdown of the central authority. Castles were first built as places of protection against the inroads of the Northmen in France. As such they were mere blockhouses erected on some natural escarpment or artificial *agger*, and surrounded by a palisade and a ditch. In Parmentier's *Album Historique*, I. 100, may be seen a picture of the château of Ste. Eulalie-d'Ambarès (Gironde), of the late ninth or early tenth century. An earlier and still simpler one is in Grégoire and Gaillard's *Histoire du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1895), p. 312. Taine, *Ancient Régime*, p. 7, has a striking description of this age of castle-building. They first appear, as has been said, in the north of France. Cf. *Vita S. Remani*, ch. 13 (*AASS. Boll.*, May, V., p. 158); *Cart. de St. Père*, I. 6; Hincmar, *Annales*, 862, 866, 869; *Annal. St. Vaast*, 885. In 862 Charles the Bald enjoined the erection of private castles as a means to defend the country, but rescinded—or attempted to rescind—the edict in 864 owing to the fact that these strongholds became rendezvous of robbers; *M. G. H., Leges* (n. s.), II. 86. Thenceforth castle-building increased rapidly; every castle-owner defied the crown. See Regino, *Chron.*, 879; *De Gestis Abbat. Laub.*, ch. 16; *Hincmarus ad Carolum Calvum*, in Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, CXXV. 954; Flach, *Les Origines de l'Anc. France*, II. 82-86, 301 ff.; Richer, *Historiarum Libri IV*, is full of vivid details in regard to early castles, e.g., I. 19, 27, II. 7, 8, 9, III. 20 (the first mention in 964 of the famous château of Coucy), 103 (Verdun), IV. 17 (Laon), 76 (Melun). Until the eleventh century the castles were chiefly, even entirely, made of timber, and part wooden, part stone castles are even met with in the twelfth century, as Suger's *Vita Ludovici Grossi* shows. But Richer, IV. 27, indicates that stone towers and battlements were in use by the middle of the tenth century. Besides the word *castellum*, the words *oppidum*, *municipium*, *castrum*, and *arx* are employed in the same sense. The art of castrametation was much more advanced in France than elsewhere, and the ability of the French in building castles astonished both the Germans and the Italians. *Mon. S. Gall.*, II. 17; Richer, II. 10, III. 106; Flodoard, *Annales*, 938; *Mirac. S. Bened.*, ed. Soc. de l'Hist. de France, p. 245. The counts of Anjou excelled in this kind of engineering; Halphen, *Le Comté d'Anjou au XI^e Siècle*, pt. 2, ch. 2.

³⁷ *E.g.*, *M. G. H., Dipl.* (n. s.), I. 169, l. 14; 232, l. 8; 242, l. 35; 499, l. 27.

own.³⁸ First they converted a favorite *Pfalz* into a walled or moated grange (*curtis*); from this the transition was made to a more formidable edifice.³⁹ But until the last quarter of the eleventh century there were comparatively few independent châteaux in Germany. Such structures were "adulterine" in the eyes of the Saxon and Salian kings and were usually destroyed or else forfeited to the crown.⁴⁰ Only royal officers might legally have castles, and then they were emanations of the king's authority and often citadels garrisoned and munitioned by government.⁴¹ Before the twelfth century most of the so-called "castles" of the German dukes with whom the kings were continually struggling were not actual castles but merely fortified manor-houses.⁴²

Even the German kings before Henry IV. were without real castles, except for their citadels, which, as said, were provincial police headquarters. All the Saxon monarchs and the first two Salians, Conrad II. and Henry III., lived much as Charlemagne had lived, as described in the capitulary *De villis*, that is to say, in a great low-roofed, rambling manor-house, or *palatium*, leaving what castles they possessed to garrisons who were usually armed *ministeriales*.⁴³

Wood was the universal fabric of castle construction for years in Germany, until French building technique and engineering introduced stone construction. Even the Wartburg in 1080 had two wooden towers.⁴⁴ The genuine feudal castle crept gradually into Germany from Lorraine.⁴⁵ Already by the eleventh century in France military engineering had become a profession and the names of some of these

³⁸ "Nobiles in villis turres parvulas habuerunt quas a suis similibus vix defendere potuerunt", quoted by Schulte, *Hofleben*, I. 124. Waitz, VIII. 203-204, has a striking paragraph on this evolution.

³⁹ Waitz, VIII. 200; Maurer, *Geschichte der Fronhöfe*, I. 126, 136.

⁴⁰ Waitz, VIII. 201.

⁴¹ For examples see *Annal. Hild.*, 971 (SS., III. 62); Thietmar, *Chron.*, V. 9. VI. 36; *M. G. H., Dipl.* (n. s.), I. 169, 232, 242, 499. Cf. Otte, *Baukunst*, pp. 134-135; Nährer, *Kunst und Alterth. in Württemb.*, III. 150.

⁴² See Wipo, *Vita Chuonradi*, 22; *Vita Oudalrici*, 10; *Vita Balderici*, 7; *Vita Deoderici Mett.*, 12.

⁴³ Waitz, VIII. 205-207; Heyne, *Wohnungswesen*, p. 139; Lamprecht, *Deutsches Wirtschaftsleben*, vol. I, pt. 1, p. 544; Schulte, *Hofleben*, I. 42. For Belgium see Kurth, *Notger de Liège*, p. 301, note 5; Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, I. 128.

⁴⁴ Otte, *Baukunst*, p. 269. For description of such a wooden castle see *Gesta Abbatum Trudonensium* (SS., X. 243).

⁴⁵ Kurth, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-27. For instances see Regino, annis 903, 906; Flodoard, *Annales*, 951, 960, etc.; Herimann of Augsburg, *Chron.*, 1044 (castle Böckelheim). Yet even in Henry IV.'s time the castle of Zabern was still of wood, *arca ex tabulis ligneis confecta*, SS., XI. 669, line 25.

architects are known.⁴⁶ But the first German castles were cruder constructions than those found in France at the same time, although they were sometimes capable of making a long resistance against siege. Henry III. lay for three months before Hammerstein before he was able to take it.

The backwardness of German siegecraft before Frederick I.'s experiences in Lombard Italy, when improved siege engines began to be introduced into Germany, made even simple fortresses formidable. Fire was commonly the most effective means to reduce a castle, since most of them were really little more than timbered blockhouses. Early German castles were without bastions, portcullis, pontlevis, all of which devices were imported from France. Even the donjon was not a "keep", but the Gross Turm in which the lord dwelt.⁴⁷

The real castle age in Germany began during the reign of Henry IV., when castles arose, first in Thuringia and Saxony, but soon are to be found all over the land as if raised by an enchanter's wand.⁴⁸ Then appeared the Wartburg, *nomen omen* among such frowning citadels, Trifels, Kyffhausen, Drachenfels, Wolkenburg, the last two having been erected by Frederick of Cologne.⁴⁹ Ambitious *ministeriales* soon followed the example set by rebellious barons, and on all sides the châteaux of these upstarts began to rival the towers of the barons. Henry V., in spite of his power, never was able to suppress them.⁵⁰ Frederick of Swabia, the Emperor Lothar's arch-enemy, sowed castles from Basel to Mainz. It was said of him that he dragged a castle at his horse's tail.⁵¹ In the reign of Frederick I.

⁴⁶ Ordericus Vitalis, VIII. 24, X. 5; Bouquet, XII. 528; V. Mortet, *Recueil de Textes relatifs à l'Hist. de l'Architecture*, introd., sec. 22. Lambert of Ardes, *Hist. Comitum . . . Ardensium*, ch. 67, has preserved a vivid description of the erection of a castle early in the twelfth century.

⁴⁷ G. Köhler, *Entwicklung des Kriegswesens*, vol. III., pt. 1, pp. 351-352; Piper, *Burgenkunde*, pp. 168, 218, 228 ff., 279, 284; Heyne, *op. cit.*, p. 134. According to Köhler (vol. III., pt. 1, p. 402) the donjon first appeared in Swiss Burgundy. There is an interesting article by Leo in *Hist. Taschenbuch*, VIII.

⁴⁸ "Montes omnes colliculosque Saxoniae et Thuringiae castellis munitissimis", Lambert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, anno 1073, ed. Holder-Egger, pp. 140-141. Giesebrecht, *Kaiserzeit*, vol. III., pt. 2, pp. 1221 ff.; Henne am Rhyn, *Kulturgeschichte des Deutschen Volkes*, I. 20 ff. The Wartburg is first mentioned by Bruno, *Liber de Bello Saxonico*, ch. 117, in 1080; Trifels is first mentioned in *Annal. Paderb.*, 1113.

⁴⁹ Stein, *De Fred. Archiep. Colon.*, p. 27.

⁵⁰ See the vivid description of the anarchy in Germany in 1116 by Ekkehard of Aura (*SS.*, VI. 252) and compare Recens. de *Annal. Paderb.*, 1107; *Chronica Regia Coloniensis*, 1107; *Vita Heinrici IV.*, 8, 9, 13; Herbordus, I. 25.

⁵¹ Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici I.*, I. 12; Heyne, *Wohnungswesen*, p. 333; Gebhardt, *Handbuch der Deutschen Geschichte*, first ed., I. 226.

Swabia bristled with castles of the Zähringen.⁵² By the next century Germany was as thickly studded with castles as France, and their occupants were far bolder in depredation, for the royal authority in Germany then was rapidly collapsing.⁵³

The burgher population in the German towns, especially in the Rhinelands, where town life first appeared and was most developed, because it was numerically strong enough within the towns to overpower the bishops and was protected from the baronage without by the town walls, weathered the storm of the civil war in Henry IV.'s reign. But the rural population of feudal Germany had no such defenses, nor did they possess that compact organization which the burghers had, to enable them to resist the pressure of the time and the violence of the age.⁵⁴ Thus insecurity, tyranny, poverty, famine, reduced the free class, even in Saxony, to serfdom, and thrust those already unfree down to lower social depths.⁵⁵

In social texture feudal Germany before the reign of Henry IV. was quite different from France. Except the clergy and some of the official count class, at the beginning of the Saxon epoch there were few who were very rich. Great lay properties were slow to accumulate in Germany. The *Grossgrundherrschaften* surrounded by a nimbus of vassals and retainers were not widely known until the last half of the twelfth century.⁵⁶ In Saxony the old blood nobility of the German tribes, like the free peasantry, persisted long after it had disappeared everywhere else.⁵⁷

The feudal tendency toward heritability of fiefs affords an interesting contrast in the cases of France and Germany. While the old idea is now exploded that the famous capitulary of Kiersy in 877 established the general heritability of fiefs in France, it yet remains true that in practice the inheritance of fiefs obtained in France from the end of the ninth century; that deviation from this tendency was the exception, not the rule.

On the other hand, in Germany this form of transmission long remained an act of grace on the part of the overlord.⁵⁸ While the

⁵² *Chron. Otto S. Blas.*, 1165 (SS., XX. 311). For the Wartburg in Barbarossa's time, see *Gesta Frid.*, I. 4.

⁵³ Raumer, *Geschichte der Hohenstaufen*, I. 208; Piper, *Burgenkunde*, pp. 122 ff.

⁵⁴ Gerdes, *op. cit.*, II. 305-306, 577 ff.

⁵⁵ For the effect of famine see Curschmann, *Hungersnöte des Mittelalters* (Leipzig, 1900).

⁵⁶ Cf. Lamprecht, *D. W. L.*, vol. I., pt. 2, p. 713, and note 6 (anno 1198).

⁵⁷ Wazo of Liège, *Gesta Episcop. Leod.*, 61 (SS., VII. 225), writing to Henry III. in 1047, strikingly shows the contrast, for he says: "Rarus apud nos miles et securus agricola."

⁵⁸ Thietmar, *Chron.*, I. 7; Lambert of Hersfeld, anno 1075, *ed. cit.*, p. 232.

succession of the eldest son was probably customary,⁵⁹ it was far from invariable. The ancient Germanic law of equal inheritance of the sons survived in many quarters of Germany for centuries—indeed it never entirely became obsolete—and along with partibility of fiefs other liberal practices gradually were legalized also, as protection of the rights of widows and the right of female succession or inheritance through the female line.⁶⁰ Often, in fact, designation of the heir was made in advance by the possessor.⁶¹ If, however, the possessor was a vassal who had died without having made a will providing for the succession, or the act of infeudation had not so provided, then the suzerain had the right to dispose of the inheritance among the heirs as he chose.

It is true that from the moment of their appearance the stem duchies tended to become hereditary. But numerous examples of revocation and dispossession occur in Saxon and Salian times. Not until the Hohenstaufen epoch did heritability of the duchies become an accomplished fact.⁶² The Ottos regarded the ducal office as a function of the crown. Only from Henry IV.'s time forward does the idea of the ducal prerogative as a strictly dynastic possession of a local family become preponderant. Then the Guelphs in Bavaria, the Hohenstaufen in Swabia, and Lothar of Supplinburg in Saxony strongly manifest this inclination.⁶³

Conrad II. in 1037 recognized the principle of primogeniture for Lombardy.⁶⁴ But this act had no binding force in Germany, where the Church long resisted primogeniture in protection of younger sons and collateral heirs.⁶⁵ Even at the end of the twelfth century Henry VI. was unable to establish primogeniture after the French and Plantagenet practice.⁶⁶ The truth is that in medieval Germany no uniform

⁵⁹ The Continuator of Regino, ed. Kurze, p. 164, records it as an unusual fact that Otto I. permitted a count to divide his fiefs upon his death-bed among his sons.

⁶⁰ Waitz, VI. 88–89; Homeyer, *Sachsenspiegel*, pt. 1 (third ed.), p. 371 and pt. 2, vol. I., pp. 143–144. The most notable instance of female succession is in the case of Saxony in 1106 when the Billunger house expired and Lothar of Supplinburg forced the succession in his own favor, his mother having been a daughter of Duke Ordulf Billung; *Annal. Sax.* (SS., VI. 744–745).

⁶¹ Lambert of Hersfeld, anno 1071, p. 121.

⁶² But already in Henry II.'s reign the heritability of countships had been admitted; Giesebrecht, II. 70, 284, 594, 625.

⁶³ H. A. L. Fisher, *The Medieval Empire*, I. 321–325.

⁶⁴ *M. G. H., Const.*, I. 90. For the popularity of the act see Wipo, *Vita Chuonradi*, II. 6.

⁶⁵ See *Chron.* of Lorsch for the years 1066 and 1119 (SS., XXI. 415, 534–535); *Codex Udalrici*, Ep. 103, in Jaffé, V. 190; Homeyer, *System des Lehnrechts*, sec. 42.

⁶⁶ Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, II. 19.

and invariable law of succession ever triumphed to the exclusion of any other form.⁶⁷ As to "relief" that feudal institution was unknown in Germany until late in the eleventh century, and uncommon before the twelfth.⁶⁸

In France as early as the ninth century to be a "noble" was to sit a horse and to bear arms; such a person was a *miles* or knight, and belonged to the *ordo pugnatorum*.⁶⁹ The right to wear arms and armor distinguished him from the unarmed peasantry.⁷⁰ Per contra, personal cultivation of the soil implied a servile condition. In France in the eleventh century—perhaps even in the tenth century—it was necessary to be knighted to be a chevalier, to be a noble. Nobility and knighthood were two sides of the same coin. In Germany neither knights nor knighthood were known before the twelfth century. The term *ordo militaris* (or *equestris*) first appears in France in the pages of Richer; and the context of the various passages shows that already before the year 1000 the French nobility was a closed order and had become a caste.⁷¹ In Widukind, on the other hand, although he uses a similar term, *ordo equestris*, the context shows that it applies only to the great dukes⁷² and it seems more like a rhetorical flourish than an historical description, for it is used in connection with Widukind's account of the grand banquet in Charlemagne's palace at Aachen after Otto I.'s coronation in 936. In France the nobles early became a hard-and-fast privileged group divided into classes by somewhat inflexible lines of partition, while in Germany the nobility remained for two centuries after the beginnings of the feudal régime merely the upper stratum of German lay society, not sharply divided from ordinary freemen nor antagonistic toward them, and loosely held together more by family tradition than by pride and prejudice. In France the gulf became wide and fixed between even the lowest noble and the servile class; a mere châtelain with nothing but a single castle and a few roods of land was nevertheless a noble.⁷³ In Germany,

⁶⁷ Frederick I.'s decree at Roncaglia in 1158, which undoubtedly was meant to apply to Germany as well as Italy, while it declared duchies, counties, etc., indivisible, did not prescribe a rule of inheritance.

⁶⁸ Waitz, VI. 35 ff.; Guilhiermoz, pp. 338 ff., notes 52, 53.

⁶⁹ Guilhiermoz, pp. 388–389; e.g., in Richer, I. 5, 57, II. 3, 5, 28, 39, 54, III. 71, 88, 93, IV. 11, 28.

⁷⁰ Guilhiermoz, pp. 379–380.

⁷¹ Lamprecht, *Études sur l'État Écon. de la France*, trans. Marignan, p. 199 and notes.

⁷² Waitz, VI. 265.

⁷³ Guilhiermoz, pp. 143–144. Hence the excessive subdivision of fiefs in France. In Flanders, Picardy, Poitou, the Orléannais, and Normandy we find *demi-pairies*, *demi-fiefs*, *demi-fiefs de haubert*, and even fractional *roncins de service*, less than half; Guilhiermoz, pp. 190–192.

on the other hand, the social distinction was less a cleavage than a gradual shading off of the nobility, through the intermediate grade of the *ministeriales*, into the serf class. German feudal society hardly even approximates the condition of French feudal society before the twelfth century. For two hundred years the meticulous differences and the social prejudices which had characterized the French noblesse since the ninth century were almost unknown in Germany.

In France, when compared with Germany, chivalry developed early and rapidly. In Germany knighthood and chivalry did not blossom until the middle of the twelfth century. One of the earliest examples, possibly the very first, is the knighting of the Hungarian king by Conrad III. in 1146 in imitation of the French practice with which he became familiar while on the Second Crusade.

Freehold and allodial tenure persisted longer and were much more general in Germany than in France, and freemen were much more numerous, particularly in the north.⁷⁴ Even as late as the battle of Bouvines (1214) many Saxon freemen fighting on foot were still to be found in the German army of Otto IV., and probably had taken an oath of loyalty to him as in Charlemagne's day.⁷⁵ But what was true of Saxony was not true of the rest of Germany then or earlier. For, as has been pointed out, by the time of Henry IV. most of Germany had become feudalized, though not after the French form. For during the civil war the Lorrainer and Swabian horsemen of Henry IV. were astonished to find in Saxony freemen still cultivating their own fields and fighting as their ancestors had fought, on foot.⁷⁶ When their free position became difficult to maintain, many of these freemen became *ministeriales*, and thus escaped the rigors of serf-

⁷⁴ Lamprecht, *Deutsche Geschichte*, III. 93-96; Schröder, *op. cit.*, pp. 407, 458-459; Waitz, V. 185, 325, 393 (note 1), 386, 430; Below, *Entstehung der Deutschen Stadtgemeinde*, p. 13; Walter, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, sec. 451. These freemen were the "*liberi viri*", the "*friman*", the "*frigebur*", or the "*schoppenbarfreye*" of the *Sachsenspiegel*, who acted as jurors and made up the *Heerban* when it was called out. This class was especially abundant in the north of Germany; Lamprecht, III. 93. It is significant that in the west, particularly in Lorraine, where French conditions more prevailed, donations to the monasteries are chiefly made by nobles, whereas in Bavaria until late, and in Swabia and Franconia until relatively late in the feudal age they are made by freemen and *ministeriales*; Waitz, V. 431. These freemen had the same wergeld and the same "*fredum*" as the *Ritter* class. The *Sachsenspiegel* (III., sec. 1) puts them on the same plane as the *ministeriales*, who at the time the Mirror of Saxony was written had become a petty nobility. Schröder, pp. 458, 591; Walter, *loc. cit.*

⁷⁵ Waitz, VIII. 122-123; Schröder, p. 525; Lamprecht, *D. G.*, III. 96. Cf. Rigord, X. 686.

⁷⁶ *Carmen de Bello Saxonico*, II., verses 118 ff., and III., verses 94 ff.; Lambert of Hersfeld, anno 1075; Bruno, *De Bello Sax.*, ch. 31.

dom.⁷⁷ The real noble class in Germany, in the legal sense, under the Saxon and first Franconian kings, was composed of the counts and dukes. But their prestige from Henry IV.'s reign onward was more and more compromised by the elevation of men of servile origin to church and lay offices—men who had everything to gain by the cultivation of parvenu practices and parvenu virtues.⁷⁸

In France the early Capetians were compelled by the feudal drift of the times to enfeoff public offices like lands. In Germany enfeoffment of public offices does not occur until after 1100, when its appearance is a manifestation of the rapid growth of feudalism as a result of the upheaval and collapse of things during the War of Investiture and the Saxon rebellion. Thenceforward the swift extension of the practice of enfeoffment of offices, in the words of Huebner, "made futile in Germany the hope of such growth of royal power as resulted in France and in England".⁷⁹

In France the ownership of land early became an index of social position. Yet in Carolingian times poverty did not entail loss of liberty or degradation of class,⁸⁰ and it is not until late in the eleventh century that we begin to detect in Germany a sentiment of contempt for the poor who are well-born, who have the misfortune either not to own land or to have lost the land which they once possessed.⁸¹

In France the lapse of royal authority and the upgrowth of a violent baronage resulted in the universal prevalence of private war. In Germany private warfare was unusual and soon crushed. The commonest kind of local violence was the persistence of the old German *faida* among the peasantry.⁸² When private war is found in

⁷⁷ Waitz, VI. 41; Dümmler, *Geschichte des Ostfränkischen Reichs*, second ed., III. 635.

⁷⁸ Gerdes, I. 404; Schröder, pp. 441 ff.; Zallinger, *Ministeriales und Milites* (1878), pp. 58 ff.; Lamprecht, *D. G.*, fourth ed., III. 103. Ekkehard of St. Gall's comment on the rise of the ministerialis class is very illuminating: "Majores locorum de quibus scriptum est 'quia servi si non timent, tument', scuta et arma polita gestare incoeperant; tubas alioquam caeteri villani clanculo inflare didicerant." *Casus S. Galli* (SS., II. 103).

⁷⁹ Huebner, *German Private Law* (English trans.), p. 340.

⁸⁰ "Quamvis pauper sit, tamen libertatem suam non perdat nec hereditatem suam", *Lex Baiuvariorum*, in *M. G. H., Leges*, III. 298. Cf. *Transl. S. Magni* [circa 850], ch. 15 (SS., IV. 426): "quamvis pauperculus tamen ex bonis parentibus natus".

⁸¹ "Erant duo cujusdam Geronis comitis filii, satis quidem edito loco nati, sed propter inopiam rei famularis inter principes Saxoniae nullius nominis vel momenti"; Lambert of Hersfeld, anno 1076, ed. Holder-Egger, p. 260. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 233, 256; Bruno, chs. 99, 117. Lamprecht, *D. W. L.*, vol. I., pt. 2, p. 1162, cites other examples.

⁸² For the curious complaint and regulations in the legislation of the bishop of Worms governing his "familia" in the year 1023, see *M. G. H., Leges* (n. s.),

feudal Germany it usually occurs along the French border in Flanders, Lorraine, and Burgundy.⁸³ Germans looked with mingled horror and contempt upon the "French" anarchy. To maintain the king's peace was the first duty of a German sovereign.⁸⁴ In theory a "faidosus" was subject to the death penalty; in practice, however, the offender was commonly banned and his property confiscated and devoted to church endowment.⁸⁵ Ludwig the German asserted the best tradition of Carolingian times with reference to enforcing law and order in the realm.⁸⁶ The principle lapsed temporarily during the minority of Ludwig the Child and the weak reign of Conrad I. Yet even then Adalbert of Babenberg was cited before the diet of Tribur, and when he failed to come was besieged in his castle, taken, and sent to the scaffold.⁸⁷

In the eleventh century, an age of intense religious emotionalism, the idea of the Truce of God began to spread from France into Lorraine and Burgundy. It mattered little to its enthusiastic advocates that what might be good, even necessary, in France, was unnecessary in Germany. Henry III., too sensitive of the royal prerogative and too proud openly to approve of a movement which in its very nature implied the inability of the crown to maintain law and order, endeavored to compromise by instituting the *Landfrieden* instead, which attempted to effect the purposes of the *treuga* but saved the honor of the crown.⁸⁸ For the extension of the Peace of God in Germany was due to psychological and religious contagion, not to necessity as in France.⁸⁹

Legally the *Landfrieden* was a revival of the old Carolingian ban reinforced by ecclesiastical penalties.⁹⁰ No more formidable police

I. 640, art. 3. Cf. Nitzsch, *Ministerialität und Bürgertum*, I. 366-376. The time-honored judicial duel lingered in Franconia until the sixteenth century; Zimmermann, in *Hist. Taschenbuch*, 1879.

⁸³ See the interesting work by Dubois, *Les Assurements au XIII^e Siècle dans nos Villes du Nord; Recherches sur le Droit de Vengeance* (Paris, 1900). Charlemagne's efforts to stamp out the ancient German feud were successfully continued by the German kings. Schröder, pp. 353 ff.; Lamprecht, in *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, VII. 8-9.

⁸⁴ Waitz, VI. 522-523.

⁸⁵ *Dipl.* (n. s.), I. 303, 434, 447; Continuator of Regino, anno 958.

⁸⁶ Dümmler, II. 416; Gerdes, I. 525.

⁸⁷ Regino, *Chron.*, 902, 906.

⁸⁸ Cf. Giesebrecht, II. 366 ff.; Stenzel, *Geschichte Deutschlands*, I. 89; Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, III. 581; Schröder, I. 669; Nitzsch, II. 39.

⁸⁹ See Rosenstock, *Herzogsgewalt und Friedensschutz* (Breslau, 1910).

⁹⁰ Richter and Kohl, *Annalen der Deutschen Geschichte im Mittelalter*, vol. III., pt. 2, pp. 341, note a, and 351, note g, have collected quotations from the sources pertinent to the history of the *Landfrieden* at this time. For the spread

power can well be imagined than the exercise of this double-shotted authority by a sovereign like Henry III. Almost any infraction of law under its provisions was capable of being construed as a violation of the "peace", and the culprit could be condignly dealt with. As subsequent history was to show, in the hands of the German kings the Landfrieden became a means of coercion powerful enough to break the greatest of foes, as Frederick Barbarossa's employment of it against Henry the Lion illustrates. Herimann of Augsburg was not far wrong when he declared the "new peace" a *pacem multis saeculis inauditam*.⁹¹ The chief defect of the law was that its enforcement was so dependent upon the personal presence of the king.⁹²

The Archbishop of Cambrai introduced the Landfrieden into his dominions in 1032; the Bishop of Worms soon followed.⁹³ In 1041 Henry III. confirmed it in Burgundy in spite of his suspicion of the bishops.⁹⁴ But the Peace of God did not acquire a firm foothold in Germany until 1081, when the anarchy of intestine war promoted it. Henry of Liège was one of its earliest exponents. Sigwin of Cologne soon imitated his example in 1083.⁹⁵ But Gerard of Cambrai was violently opposed to the movement.⁹⁶ In 1084 the counter-king Hermann ordained the peace in Saxony.⁹⁷ In the same year the synod of Bamberg took a similar measure.⁹⁸ At the diet of Mainz in 1085 Henry IV. extended the provisions of the Peace of God to the whole kingdom. Warfare was forbidden on four days in each week and certain classes of persons, as clerks, merchants, the peasantry, women, and children, declared inviolable at all times.⁹⁹ Thenceforth peace legislation is the capital element in German legislation.¹⁰⁰

This brings us to a brief consideration of the legislation of the of the Truce of God in France, see C. Pfister, *Études sur le Règne de Robert le Pieux*, ch. IV.; Luchaire, *Manuel des Institutions Françaises*, pp. 231-233, with bibl.

⁹¹ Herimannus Aug., *Chron.*, anno 1043 (SS., V. 274).

⁹² "Nam [rege] recedente justicia terras reliquit, pax abiit", bitterly wrote the unknown author of the *Vita Heinrici IV.* (ed. Wattenbach, in *usum scholarum*, 1876), ch. 1.

⁹³ Nitzsch, II. 36-38.

⁹⁴ Richter and Kohl, *Annalen*, vol. III., pt. 1, pp. 337, 351.

⁹⁵ Aegidius Aureaevallensis, *Gesta Episcoporum Leodiensium*, III. 13 (SS., XXV. 89); Ekkehard, *Chron.* (SS., VI. 206); *M. G. H., Const.*, I. 602; Hauck, III. 843; *Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte*, XXIII. 134 ff.

⁹⁶ *Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium*, III. 27, 52.

⁹⁷ *Annales Bernenses*, 1084; Hauck, III. 843.

⁹⁸ *M. G. H., Const.*, I. 605.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*; Ekkehard, *Chron.* (SS., VI. 205); *Annal. Bern.*, 1085; *Annal. Augustani* (SS., III. 131). Text in Doeberl, *Monumenta Germaniae Selecta*, vol. III., no. 17.

¹⁰⁰ Schröder, p. 669.

German kings in the Middle Ages. The contrast between their legislative energy and the lassitude of the Capetian kings of France before Philip Augustus and Louis IX. is very striking. While there are only twelve diplomas of Hugh Capet for the nine years of his reign we have 425 for that of Otto III. And if we go back into the earlier history of the Saxon house we find the same display of energy. There are 43 diplomas of Henry I., 434 of Otto the Great, 317 of Otto II. Yet much of the energetic legislation of the Saxons got nowhere, for it was all of a special, particular nature. It lacked co-ordination and the organic quality of real law.

With the accession of the Salian emperors this defect began to be remedied. Conrad II.'s legislation, though not large in volume, is singularly constructive in quality, and Henry III.'s legislation has a unity and directness which is in harmony with the absolutistic purposes of that monarch.

But all the intelligent designs of the Salian house were frustrated when the rebellion of Saxony and the War of Investiture broke out. Then, with the enormous progress of feudalism, sectionalism gained the upper hand, the courts lost their connection with the crown, the German baronage and the princely bishops and abbots established their power, freemen lost their freedom, and serfdom became the general condition of the lower classes. The one redeeming feature in the transformation of German society is the rise of the burgher class. Except for them the triumph of the *Landeshoheit* was nearly complete.

Nothing is more melancholy and more futile than the legislative activity of Frederick Barbarossa. In spite of the "new legalism" introduced by the revived study of the Roman law during his reign, in spite of Frederick I.'s own organizing ability and tremendous energy, the evidence of Frederick's futility is spread over all his works. Otto of Freising, fond as he was of his brilliant nephew, was too honest an historian to gloss the truth.¹⁰¹ By Hohenstaufen times feudalism was in the saddle and the great feudality, lay and clerical, not Frederick, really ruled Germany.

So far as the reign of law is concerned, in Germany the triumph of feudalism prevented the spread of any single, uniform system of law. This is exactly opposite to the tendency in France, where the growth of the crown gradually reduced, and even effaced the law of the provincial dynasts, and the *établissements* and *ordonnances* of the French kings became the law of the realm.

¹⁰¹ Otto of Freising, *Gesta Frid.*, II. 28, and the remarkable evidence in Weiland, *Constitutiones et Acta Publica*, vol. I., no. 198. For the anarchy in north Germany after Henry the Lion's death, see Weiland, vol. II., no. 10.

Not only the ancient Germanic codes, but the Carolingian capitularies also became obsolete in Germany by the tenth century. Few traces of them are manifest in legislation or other sources.¹⁰² When we meet with such terminology as *jus* or *lex Francorum*, *Alamanorum*, *Bajuvariorum*, *Saxonum*, the allusion is not to the old codes, but to a body of local, customary practices.¹⁰³ The German kings, whether of Saxon, Salian, or Swabian birth, always "lived" Frankish law.¹⁰⁴ But the tendency of legal development in medieval Germany was toward heterogeneity and away from homogeneity,¹⁰⁵ exactly opposite to the drift of law in France, where the growth of the monarchy made toward unity. This particularistic tendency in feudal Germany finally obliterated all conception of general law. The more feudalism won, the more the law became local, particularistic, sectional. By the thirteenth century the law of Germany had become the will of petty dynasts commingled with the debris of the past. There was greater drift toward uniformity of law under the Saxon and Salian kings than under the Hohenstaufen. The appeal made to and the use made of the petty feudality by the Swabian rulers during the conflict with the Guelphs cancelled the progress legal development had made under their predecessors, cheapened their own legislation, and consecrated at last the vicious principle of the supremacy of local lordship law.

While Frederick I. and his son Henry VI. wasted the blood and substance of Germany in bootless campaigns in Italy, Germany slipped

¹⁰² The most notable mention of the validity of former capitularies is found in *Const. Francofurtana*, 951 (*M. G. H., Leges*, II. 26). Cf. *Concilium Triburiense*, 895, ch. 1, and see Waitz, V. 149, VI. 407; Schulte, sec. 57.

¹⁰³ The *Lex Salica* apparently was still in force in the ninth century; Hincmar, *De Divortio Lotharii et Teutbergae*, interrog. 5. But Otto of Freising's mention of it in 1158 is extremely hazy; *Chronicon*, IV. 32. Cf. Schulte, sec. 23. Henry II. took an oath "not in any point to corrupt Saxon law"; Thietmar, V. 16-17; Giesebrecht, II. 24, 593. A vestige of the ancient Allemannic code comes out in 1077, when Welf of Bavaria and Berthold of Carinthia were condemned by the papal partizans for espousing the cause of Henry IV.; *Annal. Augustani* (SS., III. 129). Cf. Heyck, *Deutsche Geschichte*, I. 361. Schröder (*Forschungen z. Deutschen Geschichte*, XIX.) has a monograph on the diffusion of the Salian Franks and shows the persistence of Salic law in Hesse. Schultz, in *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Thüringische Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, n. s., I. (1878), has studied Frankish immigration into Thuringia and the spread of the *jus Francorum*. Karl von Amira, *Die Handgebärden in den Bilderhandschriften des Sachsenspiegels*, has examined the illustrations in manuscripts of the Mirror of Saxony, for the attitudes and motions of the principals in a case at trial were of technical importance and are interesting for the light cast upon juridical processes in feudal Germany.

¹⁰⁴ Otto of St. Blasius, ch. 51.

¹⁰⁵ "Secundum legem et ritum gentis . . . secundum iudicium et legem patriae", Lacomblet, *Urkundenbuch*, nos. 192, 309.

more and more out of their hands into the hands of the feudality. The old bonds of government and society dissolved, and the new ones which were formed were of a wholly different nature. They had neither the genius nor the binding force of those which they supplanted.

The partition of Saxony in 1181 ruined all prospect or possibility of German political and territorial unity, for Saxony was the premier duchy and the very corner-stone of the kingdom. Its ruin, combined with the triumph of the feudality and the breakdown of the ancient German noble class, owing partly to the power of the kings,¹⁰⁶ partly to the rise of the lesser nobility and *ministeriales* to higher place,¹⁰⁷ and partly to the incurable habit of the great families to commit family suicide by permitting so many members of their families to enter the Church,¹⁰⁸ finally ruined Germany.

It is a defect of German historians that they have too exclusively studied the Italian policy of the Hohenstaufen, their attention has been too much fixed upon the conflict with the pope and the Italian cities. Accordingly they have failed to appreciate the enormous significance of the interior changes in Germany, in ideas and especially in institutions. The rising of the nobles in 1193 marked a reaction against the policy of the house of Swabia, and is the more important because it took place when Henry VI.'s eyes were fixed on the conquest of Norman Italy and Sicily, while he believed that he had established order in Saxony and the Rhinelands. With Henry VI. the centre of gravity of the Hohenstaufen house was definitively transferred from Germany to Italy, and Germany more and more drifted into the whirlpool of the Great Interregnum.

The history of Germany from the time of the Hohenstaufen onwards proves that feudalism had no ethnic ingredients, but was the product of social and economic conditions played upon by political

¹⁰⁶ This condition was reached in Saxon times: "Multi . . . nobiles in paupertatem et magnam miseriam devoluti"; *Vita Adalberonis II. Mettensis*, ch. 27, written about the year 1000. Cf. Lamprecht, *D. W. L.*, vol. I., pt. 2, p. 1163.

¹⁰⁷ See a striking paragraph in Lamprecht, *op. cit.*, vol. I., pt. 2, p. 1063, and compare p. 1029.

¹⁰⁸ Aloys Schulte, *Der Adel und die Deutsche Kirche im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 1910), p. 278, has the appended statistical table to illustrate the gradual extinction of the great families of Germany between 900 and 1500. There is a review of this book in *English Hist. Rev.*, XXVI. 164-165.

Men	Fürsten	69 per cent. married, 31 per cent. celibate.
	Grafen	64 " " " 36 " " "
	Freiherren	50 " " " 50 " " "
Women	Fürsten	74 per cent. married, 26 per cent. celibate.
	Grafen	68 " " " 32 " " "
	Freiherren	65 " " " 35 " " "

purposes. Germany in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries (from 1193 to 1273) repeated the history of France of the ninth and tenth centuries. The German kings and the German feudality, dukes, margraves, counts palatine, burgraves were the victims of the same psychological phenomenon that had so weakened and reduced the last Carolingians and first Capetians in France, namely the detachment of the vassal from the overlord, and rear-vassals in their turn from their suzerains. This centrifugal tendency finally was carried so far that Germany territorially and politically, like France earlier, was reduced to a rope of sand, and the kingship became a lean and solemn phantom.

I have deferred unto the close of this article extended treatment of the *ministeriales*, for the reason that this influential class was a unique group in German feudal society, with slight counterpart in either France or England. On the continent outside of Germany proper, the class is only to be found in the provinces bordering upon France, like Flanders and Lorraine.¹⁰⁹

In theory medieval society was supposed to be divided into three classes: clergy, nobility, and the common people.¹¹⁰ "Nunc orant, alii pugnans, alique laborant", ran the proverb.

But as so often happens in history close examination of social evidences has proved that the theory and the fact were far from coinciding. We know that feudal society never was truly tripartite and that the sharp line of division between the classes upon which the legists laid so much emphasis never actually existed. Bishops and abbots were both priests and nobles; they had a dual status. The Knights Templar, the Knights Hospitaller, the Teutonic Knights were

¹⁰⁹ The *colliberti* of French cartularies are the closest French analogue to the German *ministeriales*; Lamprecht, *D. W. L.*, vol. I., pt. 1, pp. 820 ff., 1128 ff., 1167 ff., and his *Études sur l'État Économique de la France*, trans. Marignan, p. 214 and notes. But remnants of a rudimentary *ministerialis* condition are to be found in Normandy and Brittany as late as the twelfth century; Guilhiermoz, p. 114 and note 28. Chevaliers-serfs, or knights of servile extraction, were not uncommon in Flanders; Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Histoire de Flandre* (1846), I. 215-216, 349-350, 365. The most remarkable illustration is in the Hacket family in the time of Charles the Good (d. 1127). See Galbert de Bruges, *De Multro, Traditione, et Occisione gloriosi Karoli Comitis Flandriarum*, ed. Pirenne, espec. ch. 7, and compare van Houtte, *Essai sur la Civilisation Flamande au Commencement du XII^e Siècle* (Louvain, 1898), pp. 42-43; Hansay, *Étude sur la Formation et l'Organisation Économique du Domaine de l'Abbaye de St. Trond* (Ghent, 1899), pp. 62-63.

¹¹⁰ For larger treatment of this social attitude, see Guilhiermoz, pp. 357-358, 370-374, but to the literature there cited add Rather of Verona (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, vol. CXXXVI., col. 236); *Gesta Episcoporum Camerac.* (SS., VII. 485); Garreau, *L'État Social de la France au Temps des Croisades*, pp. 215-216; Luchaire, *Social France at the time of Philip Augustus* (English trans.), p. 391, quoting John of Salisbury; Mary M. Wood, *The Spirit of Protest in Old French Literature* (New York, 1917), ch. 1.

no less chevaliers because they enjoyed benefit of clergy. As the condition of the two privileged orders blurred at the upper edges, so at the lower edge the noble class shaded off into the servile through obscure gradations of *minores*, *minores*, *mediocres*, upon whose status Du Cange and all the rest of the great expounders of medieval institutions have not a word.¹¹¹ Similarly the decline of serfdom and the burgher revolution split the masses into three classes, bourgeois, free villains, and serfs. Neither legally nor historically are the three groups identical.

These variant conditions and these social and economic changes were common to all Europe in the Middle Ages; but the degree of the transformations differed widely in different countries. France remained always socially the most aristocratic country, with England next, thanks largely to the operation of the law of primogeniture. In Lombard and Tuscan Italy the triumph of city states suppressed the political power of the feudality and even the blood of the nobility was largely absorbed by the bourgeoisie. The victory of the Guelph party almost everywhere in northern Italy by the end of the thirteenth century destroyed forever the domination of the nobility. Henceforward it was often true, as Salvemini has written: "Scratch a knight and you find a burgher."¹¹² In medieval Germany, on the other hand, in spite of the great number of the towns there, the burghers never suppressed the baronage. The two classes never fused together as in Italy, but lived side by side in permanent hostility.

A cardinal social fact in the history of medieval Germany is the degradation of the nobility from below by the penetration of men of servile birth and condition upward into the privileged plane. This phenomenon is the rise of the *ministeriales*. There are isolated and rare instances of the same thing in French and English history, but they occur early in the feudal age, never later when feudal society had become more crystallized. But in medieval Germany the elevation of men of servile condition to the rank of a petty nobility took place on so large a scale that the result approximated a social revolution. The formation of the *ministerialis* class is an historical development unique in German history and not found elsewhere.

In its origin and inception the rise of the *ministeriales* is to be found in the economic conditions of the manorial system. Originally the *ministeriales* were a preferred class of serfs employed for service instead of for labor, who were not bound to the glebe except theo-

¹¹¹ Cf. my article in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XVIII. 500; Hessels, "Medieval Latin", in *Journal of Philology* (London), XXXI. 474, 480, 486-488, 538, 561-568.

¹¹² Salvemini, *La Dignità Cavalleresca nel Comune di Firenze* (1896). Cf. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XII. 552.

retically, but were installed in administrative and military offices of inferior responsibility, and rewarded by stipends derived from manors.¹¹³

Officials of such lowly origin are to be found in Charlemagne's *Hof* and upon the estates of the Carolingian fisc, where they acted as managers or stewards of the property.¹¹⁴ But in a day when lands and public offices both tended to become fiefs it was difficult—and in Germany impossible—to prevent these stations of humble authority from being assimilated to the condition of fiefs. For both lay and ecclesiastical lords often preferred, rather than enfeoff their lands in order to secure vassals, to recruit men-at-arms from among their dependents.¹¹⁵ The *ministeriales* thus became armed domestics. The practice was both cheaper and safer. These preferred servitors, who were usually managers of farm properties, became messengers, stood castle-guard, acted as a body-guard for the lord when he travelled, and on a pinch performed actual military service either afoot or *à cheval*.¹¹⁶ The last duty was so privileged a one that Charlemagne in 789 ruled that a *ministerialis* performing genuine military service was *ipso facto* made free.¹¹⁷ The *ministerialis*, while personally re-

¹¹³ Lamprecht, *D. W. L.*, vol. I., pt. 2, p. 902; Wittich, *Die Grundherrschaft in Nordwestdeutschland*, p. 75; Guérard, *Polyptique de l'Abbé Irminon*, proleg., pp. 801–802, 819–820; Fürth, *Die Ministerialen*, p. 34; Hansay, *op. cit.*, p. 63, note 4. The diversion of servile tenures for support of the *ministeriales* naturally increased the economic burden upon the serfs; von der Goltz, *Geschichte der Deutschen Landwirtschaft*, I, 112. The literature pertaining to the origin of the *ministeriales* is voluminous. The chief matter of debate is whether the class first appeared upon ecclesiastical or secular lands, and whether it was primarily used for domestic or military service. The servile origin of the *ministeriales* is almost universally admitted. But Wittich, in *Vierteljahrschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, IV, 1 (1906) and Ganzenmueller, in *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, vol. XXV., no. 4 (1906), have recently contended that at least in Saxony the *ministeriales* developed out of free and not servile condition. Schulte, *Der Adel*, app. 1, and Bode, *Der Uradel in Ostfalen*, both argue against this theory, which cannot be more than a thesis. Cf. *Hist. Zeitschrift*, CXIV, I. One of the best and recent discussions of this intricate subject is Keutgen, in *Vierteljahrschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, VIII., a series of four articles.

¹¹⁴ *Capit.* 789, c. 4, ed. Krause, I, 88; *Capitulaire de Villis*, cc. 10, 50; Waitz, II, 174 and notes; Nitzsch, *Deutsche Geschichte*, I, 237; Lamprecht, *D. G.*, II, 101.

¹¹⁵ They are the “*milites agrarii*” of Widukind, *Rerum Gestarum Saxoniarum*, I, 35, and the “*milites gregarii*” of Wipo, *Vita Chuonradi II.*, 4, 34. The term first occurs in Alcuin's *Epistola*, 174, ed. Jaffé, VI, 623: “*gregarios, id est ignobiles milites*”. See also Waitz, V, 439 (in his dissertation at end of this volume on the *ministeriales*), and compare II, 42 (note 4), 390 (note 3), IV, 126 (note 2), 488.

¹¹⁶ Lamprecht, *D. W. L.*, vol. I., pt. 2, pp. 713 (note 4), 880, 1313 (note 4); Schulte, *Rechtsgeschichte*, sec. 83, 4; Guilhiermoz, pp. 108–109, 462.

¹¹⁷ *M. G. H.*, *Leges*, ed. Krause, I, 67. This privilege fell into decay after Charlemagne; Guilhiermoz, p. 458.

maintaining a serf, thus came to enjoy the honors and emoluments of a petty noble. He had the privilege of a liegeman without the social status.

The inchoate beginnings of the *ministerialis* class are discernible in the Merovingian period,¹¹⁸ but the hardening of the occasional practices of that epoch falls within the ninth and tenth centuries. The stages of development are relatively clear and rapid. At first the position and the privilege of this class within a class was an informal one, and varied according to the liberality of the lord. Gradually, however, this position and privilege became fixed and a body of *ministerialis* "rights" was formed, not recognized in written charters, but sanctioned by practice and custom.¹¹⁹ In this evolution the *ministeriales* of the crown first developed as farm managers, bailiffs, or stewards upon the lands of the fisc; they next appear in the same capacity upon the lands of the Church;¹²⁰ and finally we find them in the courts of the great nobles.¹²¹

But the rank of *ministerialis* was not open to serfs of every condition. A distinction obtained, and only those called *dagewardi* or *fiscalini* were eligible to ministerial degree. Omitting the lowest variations of class among the lowly, the upper serfs in medieval Germany may be said to have been divided into two groups, *viz.*: the *fiscalini* (or *fiscalini*) and the *dagewardi* or *dagewehrten*, the former being the higher in social scale; they had a share in the *Wehrgeld* of their kindred, were not compelled to render services except of specified kind, or in certain departments of the lord's household, and could inherit and devise property. It has been inferred from these facts that their ancestors had once been freemen and had become bondmen for the sake of protection. This is Wittich's contention. If true at all, it is truer for north Germany than for the south and truer of northwest Saxony than of the northeast. The *fiscalini*, at least those who dwelt on lands of the bishops, seem to have been divided into two classes—

¹¹⁸ Zallinger, *Ministeriales und Milites*, pp. 3-20.

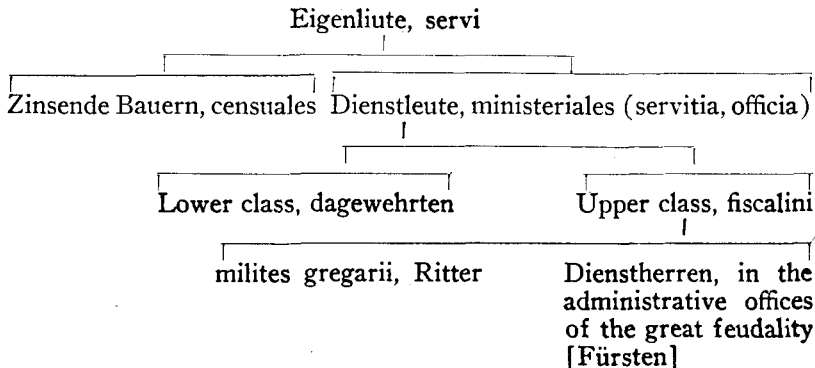
¹¹⁹ Waitz, V. 337-338, 341-342; Schröder, p. 448; *Bamberger Dienstrecht*, in Jaffé, V. 51.

¹²⁰ For the large employment of the *ministeriales* by the Church, see Nitzsch, *Ministerialität und Bürgertum*, I. 371-374, II. 24. The distinction between *ministeriales* engaged in agricultural economy and those employed in the industrial arts first appears on the manors of the Church.

¹²¹ In *Annales Fuldenses*, 880, is an account of an invasion of lower Germany by the Norsemen. In the battle two bishops, twelve counts, and eighteen "satellites regii" (*ministeriales, milites gregarii*) fell. The names are very interesting, for they clearly indicate the base origin of the bearers of them. In *Annales Altahenses Majores*, 1042, Adalbert, margrave of the Ostmark, encountered the Hungarians "cum parvissima manu militum et servitorum, quippe nec triginta habentes scutatorum".

those who lived in the town, who no doubt were artisans and craftsmen, and those living in the country, who were peasant farm laborers.¹²² If a *fiscalinus* married a *dagewarda* or a *dagewardus* married a *fiscalina* their children belonged to the status of the parent who was the lower of the pair. Usually, if not invariably, the *ministeriales* were recruited from the *fiscalinus* class of serfs.

The development of the *ministerialis* class has been graphically illustrated by the appended diagram:¹²³



The formation of the *ministerialis* class may be said to have become completed by the twelfth century, by which time the performance of military service, the supreme dignity of a noble, had become theirs, and the status in fact, though not in law, become an hereditary one.¹²⁴ Certain servile traditions, however, still clung to the position of the *ministerialis* which it was their constant effort to obliterate.¹²⁵

¹²² The classic document illustrating the condition of episcopal *ministeriales* is the law for the "familia" of Burchard of Worms (1023), *M. G. H., Leges* (n. s.), I. 640 ff.; Altmann and Bernheim, *Ausgewählte Urkunden*, no. 62, especially secs. 9, 13, 16, 22, 29.

¹²³ From Paul's *Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie*, XI. 122; also in Schauffler, *Quellenbuch zur Kulturgeschichte der Deutschen im Mittelalter* (Leipzig, 1894), p. 130.

¹²⁴ By the twelfth century a *ministerialis* is often qualified as "noble". Waitz, V. 500, *Chron. Ebersheimense*—"Familia ministerialis . . . adeo nobilis et bellicosa". The *Vita Bennonis II.*, *Episcopi Osnabrugensis*, ch. 1 (he died in 1088), illustrates the position to which the *ministerialis* class had risen at the end of the eleventh century. Benno was born of this class, yet he reached the episcopate and became one of Henry IV.'s greatest ministers—"ejus parentes non nobiles quidem sed tamen plebeam conditionem transgressi". He was the first German bishop of *ministerialis* class. Schulte, *Der Adel und die Deutsche Kirche*, p. 72; Schulte, *Schriften für Geschichte und Naturgeschichte der Baar*, V. 142.

¹²⁵ The "rights" of the *ministeriales* were first legally recognized in the ecclesiastical principalities; Steindorff, *Jahrbücher Heinrich III.*, II. 342; Jaffé, V. 51. The earliest effort to formulate them is found in the *Hofrecht* of Burchard of Worms in Henry II.'s reign, *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Worms*, I. 40, and in the Bamberger *Dienstrecht* of Bishop Gunther (1057-1064), Gerdes, II. 441. In

Tempted by the advantage of the position many freemen sought to become *ministeriales*, and, of course, to rise to the level of one was the supreme ambition of many a serf, to whom emancipation by economic change was a desperately slow one and too much for his patience, while emancipation by revolt was impossible.¹²⁶

In this wise the armed domestic and petty bureaucrat became constituent elements in the social fabric of feudal Germany. Kings, dukes, bishops, abbots were surrounded by a crowd of *Hofdiener*.¹²⁷ The clergy in particular were partial to the formation of this class. For although the heaviest landowners they were the least willing to enfeoff their lands, a course in which the crown sustained them, since the Saxon and Salian kings drew vastly more upon ecclesiastical sources for men and money than upon lay sources. Instead of sending real vassals to the army the bishops and abbots sent bodies of armed domestics.¹²⁸ Such men were far more tractable than vassals and less dangerous also to intrust with power.¹²⁹ Serfs were meant to obey, and in spite of the parvenu aspirations of the *ministeriales*, the tradition of obedience and servility was still strong among them. When the expedition was over they returned to their former occupations, contented with their "service fiefs", which did not entail homage but were servile tenures of magnified dignity.

In the reign of Henry I. and the Saxon epoch in general, the *ministeriales* seem chiefly to have formed small mounted contingents. The *Sachsenspiegel* "Dienstmann" is glossed with "puer", *M. G. H., Const.*, I: 88. In the letter of the law the rights of a freeman were denied to a *ministerialis*. He could be bought and sold with the land like a serf. Kluckheim, in *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum*, LII. 135 ff.; Waitz, V. 358; marriage with a free woman was forbidden; he could be beaten, *M. G. H., Leges* (n. s.), IV. 609. But these disqualifications by the twelfth century, and even before that, were really obsolete for many of the *ministeriales*, and their presence in the codes merely illustrates the conservatism of the law which preserved old, time-worn dicta which had long since become anomalous and out of date.

¹²⁶ Lamprecht, *D. G.*, III. 67.

¹²⁷ Waitz, V. 323. It is apparent from Wipo, *Vita Chuonradi*, ch. 4, that by the time of Conrad II. freemen were a negligible quantity around the court, and that the officials were either bishops, nobles, or *ministeriales*.

¹²⁸ The evidence is abundant and some of it very interesting. See *Gesta Abbatum Trudonensium*, IX. 12; *Vita Godehardi*, 31; *Chron. Gosec.*, I, 2, 27. The sarcasm in Henry IV.'s speech, as related by the author of the *Vita Heinrici*, 8, ed. Eberhard, p. 29, in announcing the unpopular ordinance of 1103 to the discontented nobles is manifest when it is remembered that their following was chiefly made up of armed domestics: "Reddite agris quos ex agro deputastis armis, coequate numerum satellitum ad mensuram facultatum." Cf. Waitz, V. 325, 328.

¹²⁹ For examples of the hazard in using regular knights as body-guard see Thietmar, VIII. 14, and compare Guilhiermoz, p. 253, note 23.

gents.¹³⁰ But the great cost of the Italian expeditions¹³¹ of the medieval emperors and the reluctance of many of the German vassals to do service so far away gradually induced the emperors to make larger and larger use of *ministeriales* instead of vassals. It is evident from Wipo's *Life of Conrad II.* [1024–1039] that feudal service in Italy had much declined by the first quarter of the eleventh century.¹³² Henry V. in 1124 had great difficulty in getting vassals to serve in France “quia Teutonici non facile gentes impugnant exteras”.¹³³ A large portion of the army of Conrad III. on the Second Crusade was made up of *ministeriales*.¹³⁴

It was always difficult for the Salian emperors to make Saxons serve in Italy and even Henry II., though a Saxon, had trouble.¹³⁵ Accordingly *ministeriales* were increasingly used for military service. Conrad II.'s legislation in 1028 for the Weissenburger *ministeriales* (if genuine) marks an epoch in the evolution of this class.¹³⁶ Henceforward military *ministeriales* took an oath similar to that of the feudality. One of the grievances of the Saxons against Henry III. was his large use of *ministeriales* for garrison duty in the citadels of the crown in Saxony. Their swaggering ways and their base origin angered the pride of the Saxons.

There was nothing essentially new in the use of “*milites gregarii*” or armed domestics by the Salian kings. The Ottos had done the same; they merely extended the employment of *ministeriales* for military service. What the kings of the Salian house are remarkable for is the introduction of this class into the civil offices of the crown.

¹³⁰ Widukind, I. 38; Thietmar, IV. 28; Cosmas of Prague, II. 9.

¹³¹ See *Constitutio de Expeditione Romana*, cited by Waitz, V. 373. The War of Investiture greatly multiplied the number of *ministeriales*, for each side made much use of them, rewarding them out of the spoliated lands. Waitz, V. 332; Schröder, p. 448; Lamprecht, *D. G.*, III. 68. From some military statistics for the years between 1096 and 1146 it would appear that vassals formed 71 per cent. of the army. But between 1147 and 1191 this proportion drops to 23 per cent.; and between 1191 and 1250 the figure declines to 3 per cent. The balance of the troops, i.e., 29, 77, and 97 per cent., were composed of *ministeriales*. Kluckhohn, *Die Ministerialität in Süd-Deutschland* (Göttingen, 1909). However, it must be remembered that these figures pertain to South German contingents only.

¹³² *Vita Chuonradi*, ch. 24.

¹³³ Ekkehard of Aura, *Chron.* (SS., VI. 262); Waitz, VIII. 103, note 5.

¹³⁴ Bernhardt, *Konrad III.*, pt. 1, p. 598, notes 18, 19; for high Hohenstaufen times see Otto of St. Blasius, ed. Hofmeister, pp. 26, 27, 68.

¹³⁵ For Henry II.'s difficulty see Helmold, *Chronica Slavorum*, I. 14.

¹³⁶ There is much division of opinion in regard to this document. Giesebrecht, fourth ed., II. 633, thinks it genuine; Riezler, *Geschichte Bayerns*, I. 441, note 1, wholly rejects it. Waitz, *Forschungen*, XIV. 32, and *D. V. G.*, V. 334; Bresslau, *Konrad II.*, I. 252, note 1, II. 379; Steindorff, *Heinrich III.*, I. 415; Zallinger, *Ministeriales und Milites*, p. 4, and other historians think it genuine, but glossed or corrupted by later additions.

Occasional instances of favorite *ministeriales* near the person of the king may be found in the Saxon period. But Conrad II. was the first German sovereign who created the "royal" *ministeriales*, as a class, and organized them into an executive staff of officials. Werner was his chief *ministerialis* and the earliest secular minister in the history of medieval Germany. In his capacity of supervisor of the fisc he was a kind of chief intendant or comptroller general.¹³⁷

Henry IV. pushed the Salian policy of employing *ministeriales* in the administration of the fisc so far that almost all such officials in his reign seem to have been *ministeriales*,¹³⁸ the chief of whom was Eberhard of Nellenburg. These hated tax-gatherers and counsellors were the persons for whom the hostile chroniclers reserved such opprobrious epithets as "parasiti", "scurrae", "facinorum ipsius [Henry IV.] conscii et fautores", etc., and whom the Fürsten detested as "obscuri et pene nullis majoribus nati".

The arrogance and petty tyranny of this parvenu class made the *ministeriales* detested by the peasantry, and feuds between the *ministeriales* of one lord and those of another were frequent, for they readily took up the causes of their patrons.¹³⁹ Even the Bambergers complained of Henry IV.'s *ministeriales*, although Bamberg was the favorite seat of the Salian emperors.¹⁴⁰ Barefaced seizure or compulsory secularization of ecclesiastical lands to the profit of *ministeriales* in the employ of the Church was common all through Germany during the strife between Henry IV. and the rebel partizans of the pope and the revolted Saxons.¹⁴¹

For during the Saxon rebellion and the War of Investiture the power of the *ministeriales* enormously increased. Both sides recruited their fighting men from among this class of armed servitors and created new members for the express purpose of warfare, insomuch

¹³⁷ Wipo, *Vita Chuonradi*, ch. 4: "Werinharii militis, quem rex longe ante cautum consiliis, audacem bellis, frequenter secum experiebatur."

¹³⁸ See the dissertation of Reohrig, *De Secularibus Consiliariis Heinrici IV.* (Halle, 1866). Waitz, VI. 292, is very brief. But see Nitzsch, in *Historische Zeitschrift*, n. s., IX. 200.

¹³⁹ The history of the strife of Bishop Salamon of Constance (d. 871) with the Kammerboten Erchanger and Berchtold has been unravelled by Baumann in *Vierteljahrshäfte für Württemb. Geschichte*, 1878. It was almost legendary by the time of Ekkehard of St. Gall (see *Casus S. Galli*, ch. 1) and gave rise to some of the earliest German ballad literature.

¹⁴⁰ Jaffé, V. 395. The famous ordinance of Bishop Embricho in 1128 for the government of the Bamberger *ministeriales* must have been called out by this abuse. Cf. Fürth, pp. 509-510; Gengler, *Beiträge zur Rechtsgeschichte Bayerns*, IV. 153-154. Fisher, *Medieval Empire*, I. 80, has translated part of the ordinance.

¹⁴¹ Cf. Martiny's study in *Mittheilungen des Ver. für Geschichte von Osnabrück*, XX. (1895). By the twelfth century we find *ministeriales* assuming titles from landed possession like nobles. Ficker, *Vom Reichsfürstenstand*, I. 77.

that the boldest of the *ministeriales* succeeded in converting their service tenures into real fiefs, and even demanded benefices as the price of their services.¹⁴² "Dienstmann ist nicht Eigen" was their slogan.

Yet it would be an error to assume that military service was the predominant function or activity of the *ministeriales*. It was the most distinguished, but the rarest form of service. Most of them were employed in small administrative capacities upon the crown lands, the manors of the clergy and nobles, as stewards, or bailiffs, and in household offices. Writing in 1135 and describing the monastery community of Zwifalt in Swabia, Ortlieb takes pride in the obedience and humility of the *ministeriales* who belonged to the abbey. "Among our men some owe service of this kind," he writes, "namely, when the lord abbot, prior, provost, or others among the brethren would travel anywhither, these men with their horses do accompany them and minister to them. And in order that this service may be rightfully required of them they are granted certain benefices. They assuredly rejoice to be honored by this distinction because they have the right to have under them men whom we call *clientes* or *ministeriales*. Yet in spite of this, no man of ours has ever become so perverse or so haughty that he presumed to ride with us, in military array, or refused to carry the wallet of any of our monks upon his pack-horse. The founders of our monastery did not intend to give us such men, and we have not consented to receive any one who might prove troublesome to us or to our successors."¹⁴³

Only the most ambitious and the most fortunate of the *ministeriales* succeeded in rising into the *Ritter* class and becoming noble. Such were those who had shown distinguished prowess in war.¹⁴⁴ It was rare in France, if not impossible, for a serf to become a chevalier. But in feudal Germany it was not unusual, even if not common. When this transformation was reached the *ministerialis* acquired the status of a petty noble. He had entered—albeit his foot was on the lowest rung of the ladder—the blue-ribbon membership of the *Heer-*

¹⁴² *Annal. Hild.*, 1103 (SS., VIII. 202); Lamprecht, *D. W. L.*, vol. I., pt. 2, p. 881. For a remarkable instance of the boldness of a *ministerialis* in the time of Frederick I., see *Gesta Frid.*, II. 3. For the misconduct of Conrad III.'s *ministeriales* in Saxony, see SS., XVI. 82, and Bernhardi, *op. cit.*, pt. 1, p. 162. By 1200 we find these parvenu knights as "wandering knights" in Germany; Gislebertus Montensis, *Chronicon Hannoniae*, ed. Pertz, in *usum scholarum*, p. 66, "milites . . . in imperio Theutonicorum gyrovagantes".

¹⁴³ *Ortliebi Zwifaltensis Chronicon* (SS., X. 78).

¹⁴⁴ The first instance of the knighting of *ministeriales* is of those of the Archbishop of Mainz in 1126; Boehmer, *Fontes*, III. 278, 328. The practice first obtained in the Rhinelands; Waitz, V. 397.

schild,¹⁴⁵ assumed a title, was lord of a castle and a manorial proprietor, adopted a heraldic device, and aped the courtly fashions of the age of chivalry. By the time of the Hohenstaufen a considerable proportion of the German noblesse, especially the knights, were composed of former *ministeriales*. But we find counts, dukes, bishops risen from this class.¹⁴⁶ The poets and minnesingers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries all arose from this class, as did many of the heroes of whom they sang. Their technical feudal language, when it is not of French troubadour origin and often used in order to air their "culture", betrays their parvenu ancestry.

To all these forces which have been enumerated, which tended to break down the old German feudal aristocracy, should be added the democratizing (or shall one say the corrupting?) influence of the new monastic orders like the Cistercians and the German Cluniacs or Hirsauer monks, whose brotherhoods were far less aristocratic than the older orders were. In addition to hundreds of lay brothers or "conversi", these two orders developed *ministeriales* to an unprecedented degree.¹⁴⁷

The social practice of feudal Germany in thus elevating domestic serfs to the rank of small nobles gave a banality to the late medieval German aristocracy which one does not find in the English or French

¹⁴⁵ In its original, primary sense the *Heerschild* was the royal host. The king himself, as a noble, was the first degree; Homeyer, I. 286—*Sachsenspiegel*, c. 71, sec. 6. The first clear definition of the *Heerschild* is in *Chron. Lauresh.* [Lorsch], (SS., XXI. 415, 434-435). Ficker's book *Vom Heerschilde* is a classic. Cf. Guilhiermoz, p. 264, note 27.

"The Thuringian family of Reuss, which has maintained its independence to our own day, springs from the imperial *ministeriales* who administered the Voigtland, or district of Weida, Gera, and Plauen. The peculiar interest of its history lies in the fact . . . that it attained its rank not through any noble connexion or in virtue of the office of *Graf*, but solely through reliance upon the position of imperial *Vogt*. The family was 'unfree', and was in part subject to the landgraves of Thuringia. By means of their judicial rights, which, as imperial officers, they retained over the small territory which came to them, the various members of this house gradually founded a claim to be immediate vassals of the empire. Assisted in the thirteenth century by the emperors who were opposed to the house of Wettin, the family of Reuss finally received a golden bull from Lewis of Bavaria in 1329, and were legally established in their princely rank." Rev. of W. Finkenwirth's *Die Entwicklung der Landeshoheit der Vorfahren des Fürstenhauses Reuss, 1122-1329* (*Jenaer Historische Arbeiten*, II., Bonn, 1912), in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXVIII. 603.

¹⁴⁶ Roth von Schreckenstein, p. 335; Waitz, V. 385; Köhler, vol. II., pt. 2, p. 63; Gerdes, I. 482-483; Lamprecht, *D. W. L.*, vol. I., pt. 2, p. 1173; Kluckhohn, in *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum*, LII. 135 ff. (1910).

¹⁴⁷ See my articles: "Church and State in Medieval Germany," in *Am. Jour. Theol.*, XXII. 515-516; "The Cistercian Order and Colonization in Medieval Germany," *id.*, XXIV. 87-89.

nobility. The German nobility of the thirteenth century lacked the culture, the grace, the urbanity, the pride which one so habitually associates with the aristocracy of England and France. Birth and blood always counted in France and across the channel. But in Germany by the twelfth century these qualifications, while not unimportant, had lost the unique quality they preserved elsewhere. The distinction between real knight and *ministerialis* was a blurred social difference, not a sharp cleavage.¹⁴⁸

By 1134 we find mention of the *ordo equestris major* and the *ordo equestris minor*, the one composed of real nobles, the other formed of *ministeriales*. But by 1152 even this distinction has disappeared and the two orders have fused into one. The law of 1187 shows the hardening of the process; the two groups were welded socially and politically.¹⁴⁹ Even before this development was reached the *ministeriales* of the crown and of the great nobles had forced their way into the diets and courts of the realm,¹⁵⁰ where they sat as proudly as real princes, and in Saxony only does their arrogance seem to have been regarded as effrontery.¹⁵¹

When we reach the reign of Frederick Barbarossa we find that the most ambitious of the *ministeriales* have blossomed into full-fledged nobles,¹⁵² and many of them among the *Ritterschaft*. Externally nothing distinguishes these parvenus from the old aristocracy except their low-born speech and rude manners. They, too, boasted title and assumed escutcheons like the real nobility, and their dynasties were recorded in the medieval *Almanach de Gotha*, the book of the

¹⁴⁸ Thus the *Chronica Regia Coloniensis*, 1122 (ed. Waitz, in *usum scholarum*), p. 60, writing of the year 1122: "orta seditio inter armigeros de re modica, uti sepe fit, usque ad milites armatos pervenit." The former are genuine knights, the latter *ministeriales* who have become knights. Cf. *id.*, pp. 144, 249.

¹⁴⁹ Waitz, V. 453; Köhler, vol. III., pt. 2, p. 35; Schröder, p. 458; Roth von Schreckenstein, p. 291; Lamprecht, *D. G.*, III. 182; Schauffler, p. 131. Otto of Freising twice uses the term "*ordo militaris*" (*Chronica*, ed. Hofmeister, pp. 74, 175) and once the words "*militares viri*" (p. 88).

¹⁵⁰ *Chronica Regia Coloniensis* [1142], p. 78.

¹⁵¹ *Annals of Pöhlde*, 1146 (SS., XVI. 82). Werner of Bolland possessed seventeen castles in the time of Frederick Barbarossa and had 1100 knights in his service, *Chron. Han.*, ed. cit., p. 145. His *Stammtafel* is given by Schulte, *Der Adel und die Deutsche Kirche*, pp. 312-313. For the high position of *ministeriales* around Frederick I., see *Gesta Frid. Imp.*, II. 3; Arnold of Lübeck, *Chron. Slav.*, II. 17. For those in Germany during Frederick II.'s reign, see Huillard Bréholles, introd., p. clx. In general, see Gudenatz, *Schwäbische und Fränkische Freiherren und Ministerialen am Hofe der Deutschen Könige, 1198-1272* (Bonn, 1909).

¹⁵² By the charter granted by the Archbishop of Cologne to his *ministeriales* in 1154, art. 1 required that they take an oath of fidelity like any noble; art. 12 specifically calls the lands they held "fiefs". Text in Altmann-Bernheim, no. 70.

names of those privileged to be included in the *Heerschild*, at the apex of which stood the king-emperor.¹⁵³

And yet it must not be forgotten that these fortunate climbers who thus attained knighthood and nobility were, of course, proportionately few compared with the vast number of the *ministeriales* in all Germany. The great majority of the class, still in the twelfth century, as before, continued to be found in managerial capacities upon the lands of the fisc, of the Church, and of the nobles.

The evolution and importance of this new class in medieval German society, a blend of serfdom and knighthood, constitutes one of the most striking differences between German feudalism and French or English feudalism. France, by taking a different and more aristocratic road from that of Germany, eliminated the debris of those Carolingian institutions which were the residuary legacy of the Frank empire to both, while Germany retained it. Such indifference to social distinctions, such slight stress put upon ancestry, such lack of class pride as feudal Germany displayed were unthinkable in feudal France in the twelfth century. There the law of primogeniture was a selective process which kept out upstarts and social climbers. Germany did little of the kind, and the result was that the ancient German nobility was undermined by the lower classes, its authority weakened, its prestige debased. The French noble was by ancestry and remained a *gentilhomme*, he was gentle born. The German noble class became filled with parvenus, men of low birth, without family pride, and actuated by grossly materialistic motives and ambitions, without the culture and the idealism of the French noblesse. "As cheap as a German baron" was an adage as far back as the twelfth century. One has only to read the puzzled and critical comments of Suger and Gilbert of Mons to discover this.¹⁵⁴

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¹⁵³ Ficker, pp. 51 ff.; Schröder, p. 452; Lamprecht, *D. G.*, III. 97; Gebhardt, *Handbuch*, first ed., I. 465.

¹⁵⁴ Suger, *Hist. Ludovici VII.*, ed. Molinier, ch. 2, p. 148; *Chronicon Hanoniense* (SS., XXI. 538); Waitz, VI. 409; Bernhardi, pt. 1, p. 26; Guilhiermoz, pp. 258-259.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MILITARY OFFICE IN AMERICA, 1763-1775

IN a memorial to the king in 1774 the first Continental Congress asserted that a "standing army has been kept in these colonies, ever since the conclusion of the late war, without the consent of our assemblies; and this army, with a considerable naval armament, has been employed to enforce the collection of taxes". It is further alleged that "the Authority of the commander-in-chief, and under him, of the brigadier's general, has in time of peace been rendered supreme in all the civil governments in America". The development of the military branch of imperial administration in the British colonies, as suggested by this familiar allusion, and the interference with civil power, to the extent to which it persisted, were made possible by certain lines of development not directly indicated by the American protests of the time.

One of the pivotal questions precipitated by the French and Indian War was that of defending the suddenly enlarged empire. There arose also the collateral problems of territorial organization and management of the Indians and their trade. Coming into possession of Canada and the great interior area, extending from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico and westward to the Mississippi River, with the exception of New Orleans, Great Britain was confronted by the potential hostility of her new French subjects in Canada, of her French and Spanish subjects along the Gulf of Mexico in what had been Spanish Florida and a portion of French Louisiana, and by the active hostility of the great mass of western Indians. Moreover, when France ceded this western territory to Great Britain, she at the same time transferred to Spain her sovereignty over the remainder of Louisiana, thus placing a traditionally hostile power along England's western frontier. Coupled with this general situation, viewed on every hand as critical, was the well-known reluctance of the American assemblies to make adequate provision for the defense of the Alleghany frontier, immediately at their back, or even to co-operate with the British military forces.

It became clear, therefore, that some plan of defense must be inaugurated which would be under central and imperial control. This lesson had already been driven home in the course of the war which had just closed. It was now more patently clear than ever that a

closer integration of the empire was essential. National self-preservation made this inevitable. But as has been so clearly stated by the late George L. Beer, in his *British Colonial Policy, 1754-1763*, this integration could not be arranged speedily enough to stabilize the empire. The inability of the Americans to agree upon any system of colonial defense necessitated the constant employment of troops, under direction of a supreme command, in far distant posts, north, west, and south, and in reserve posts in the older provinces. This, in brief, was the basis of the well-known determination of the Grenville ministry in 1763 to maintain a standing army of ten thousand troops in America and to find a means for their partial support in the colonies.

However unsound and inconsistent the colonial view may have been in numerous respects, the fact is outstanding that the army thus maintained formed the base of a control of wide-reaching importance. When the various points at which the military power impinged upon the civil are viewed as a whole, this branch of the service takes on a significant aspect. Events so shaped themselves in this decade, when government and colonies were disputing, as to make it one of the chief instruments of imperial administration. It is with this aspect of the general problem that the present study is concerned.

The head of the army in America at the conclusion of the war was Sir Jeffrey Amherst, but he was succeeded directly, in the same year, by Major-General Thomas Gage, who had had considerable military experience throughout the late war, and who was commander of the forces in Canada at the time of his elevation to the supreme command. The headquarters of the army was located in the town of New York. The details of the work of the army in maintaining the peace of the empire are not pertinent to the present discussion. That it maintained the peace is a familiar and a significant fact, giving added weight to the power and prestige which this branch of the service earned in other, though related, spheres.

In addition to the obvious technical military command, the power of the military office was practically unlimited in at least two other spheres of action. The first of these was the western Indian reservation, which included all the territory extending from the southern boundary of Quebec, as defined in the royal proclamation of 1763 (and so comprising a large portion of upper Canada), to the northern boundary of West Florida, along the parallel of $32^{\circ} 30'$, and from the crest of the Appalachian system to the Mississippi River. In this immense domain, there were a few French settlements, numerous Indian nations, and a host of traders, British and alien, and on the opposite bank of the Mississippi River lay territory under the sovereignty of Spain, a rival power.

With the well-known reason for this reservation, which temporarily inhibited settlement within its borders,¹ there is no need to concern ourselves at this point, beyond observing that it represented one phase of the plan of imperial defense. But it is a pertinent fact that the king's proclamation establishing the reservation took no account of any need for a civil administration, although there were white settlements within its limits, which had hitherto been accustomed to a civil jurisdiction, nor of the need for some political or judicial regulation for the British traders who were encouraged to enter the territory, and whose disputes with the Indians and among themselves were certain to provoke much litigation. In the course of the ministerial discussion anent the administrative disposition of the newly ceded territories several suggestions were put forth touching the disposal of the Indian country—the great interior area. One of the original plans had been to place this region within the jurisdiction of some of the colonies, preferably Canada, with a view to providing at least so much civil supervision that criminals and fugitives from justice from the old colonies might be retaken.² Another plan, projected by the Earl of Shelburne, contemplated placing the region definitely under the jurisdiction of the commander-in-chief of the army, to the end that protection might be afforded to the Indian and the fur trade.³ This suggestion, too, failed to receive ultimate approval, partly because of certain changes that occurred in the personnel of the Board of Trade while the general problem was still under discussion and before a final determination had been reached. It turned out, however, that in the royal proclamation of 1763, which provided a constitution of government for the provinces of West Florida, East Florida, and Quebec, and which reserved for the use of the Indians the area described in the preceding paragraph, no provision was made for a civil jurisdiction. Indeed a careful scrutiny of all the documentary evidence at present available reveals no evidence that British officialdom was even cognizant that these white settlements, scattered throughout the West, at Detroit, in the Illinois country, and elsewhere, were in existence. It is highly improbable, however, that the settlements were wholly unknown to English officials. Whatever explanation may be offered for this state of affairs,⁴

¹ C. W. Alvord, "The Genesis of the Proclamation of 1763", in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, XXXVI. 20 ff.; and *Mississippi Valley in British Politics*, I. 187 ff.

² Egremont to the Lords of Trade, July 14, 1763, *Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759-1791* (second ed., Ottawa, 1918), p. 147.

³ Representation of the Lords of Trade to the king, Aug. 5, 1763, *ibid.*, pp. 110-111.

⁴ This phase of the problem is discussed in C. E. Carter, *Great Britain and*

the duty of policing the area and of defending it against both external and internal enemies devolved upon the British army. The failure of the American colonies to face realities by surrendering their former isolation and provincialism and by uniting for protection made imperative the continuance of this service by the regular imperial establishment.

We have therefore the commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, residing mainly in New York, directing the work of policing and administering this imperial domain—a task which necessitated a wide study of various conditions that might affect the success of the project. This meant a constant correspondence between his office and such widely scattered posts as Montreal, Quebec, Detroit, Fort de Chartres, Pensacola, and St. Augustine. Some of these posts, it will be noted, are within provinces created out of the French and Spanish cessions of Canada, Louisiana, and Florida for which civil governments had been provided. Nevertheless such provinces were still looked upon as potential seats of sedition and were consequently included within the scope of operations of the army, though the latter did not actually administer them. Many delicate and perplexing problems confronted the military officials. The difficulty of solving them was enhanced by the fact that the office was guided by few precedents and its personnel gifted with too little imagination. Nor did much intelligent guidance come from home officials. The commander-in-chief and his subordinates were therefore necessarily

the Illinois Country, 1763–1774, pp. 13–26. Knox, in *The Justice and Policy of the Late Act of Parliament*, pp. 39–43, after pointing out that the original purpose of the framers of the Proclamation of 1763 had been to govern the West and to control the fur trade by an imperial plan, observed: "This was the reason that so large a part of the ceded territories in America was left without government, and that the new province of Quebec contained so small a portion of ancient Canada." Lord Dartmouth observed in 1773: "There is no longer any Hope of perfecting that plan of Policy in respect to the interior Country, which was in Contemplation when the Proclamation of 1763 was issued; many Circumstances with regard to the Inhabitancy of that Country were then unknown, and there are a Variety of other Considerations that do, at least in my Judgement, induce a doubt both of the Justice and Propriety of restraining the Colony to the narrow Limits prescribed in that Proclamation." *Docs. rel. to Const. Hist. of Canada, 1759–1791* (second ed.), p. 485. In discussing the proposed extension of the limits of Quebec the author of one of the numerous papers relating to the Quebec Bill asserted: "The Kings Servants were induced to confine the Government of Quebec within the above Limits, from an apprehension that there were no Settlements of Canadian Subjects, or lawful possessions beyond those Limits, and from a hope of being able to carry into execution a plan that was then under Consideration for putting the whole of the Interior Country to the Westward of our Colonies under one general control and Regulation by Act of Parliament." *Ibid.*, p. 542.

given wide latitude in the development and execution of policies.⁵ British politics is, it is true, reflected in many decisions of the military office; at times, indeed, shiftiness seems to be the prevailing characteristic. But action must be taken in many instances where distance from home authorities or from the military posts and difficulties of communication would obviously make delay unwise.⁶ In one instance, however, Parliament passed an amendment to the Mutiny Act of 1765 which enabled the military department to seize offenders, other than soldiers, in order to convey them to the next adjoining province for delivery to the civil magistrates.⁷ This was enacted at the instance of General Gage, who had pointed out that there was no power available to enforce law and order in the territory left to the Indians by the proclamation of 1763.⁸

Along with this responsibility for policing the new possessions the military office likewise assumed the burden of Indian management. In the early years of the French and Indian War the imperial government determined to take over the direction of Indian affairs. The immediate first step in this new policy was taken by the commander-in-chief of the British forces in America for purely military purposes. In 1755 General Braddock handed a commission, with instructions, to Major-General William Johnson as superintendent of the affairs of the Six Nations and their allies.⁹ This developed into the superintendency of the northern district, and a southern department was created at about the same time. The commissions to the respective superintendents were renewed by the successive commanders-in-chief, thus continuing the departments, with certain additions and subtractions as to powers, until the American Revolution.

⁵ Cabinet minute, Mar. 18, 1768, Public Record Office, C. O. 5: 1088, f. 156; Hillsborough to Gage, July 15, 1769, C. O. 5: 87; Hillsborough to Gage, July 3, 1771, C. O. 5: 89.

⁶ Hillsborough to Gage, Apr. 15, 1768, C. O. 5: 86.

⁷ C. W. Alvord and C. E. Carter, *The Critical Period* (Illinois Historical Collections, X.), p. 485; Carter, *Great Britain and the Illinois Country*, p. 19. That the administration of justice in the Indian country was in the hands of Gage is illustrated by many instances. For example, prisoners are ordered to be conveyed to Canada for trial. Johnson to Hillsborough, June 29, 1772, *Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, ed. O'Callaghan, VIII. 300.

⁸ Gage to Conway, Mar. 28, 1766, Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime* (Illinois Historical Collections, XI.), p. 198; Governor Moore to Shelburne, Nov. 11, 1766, *Docs. rel. to Col. Hist. N. Y.*, VII. 877; Gage to Johnson, Jan. 25, 1767, Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime*, p. 499.

⁹ *Papers of Sir William Johnson*, I. 465; *Pennsylvania Archives*, II. 203. This whole issue may be followed in part in *The Correspondence of William Shirley*, ed. Lincoln (New York, 1912), II. 203, 207, 339, 359; *Docs. rel. to Col. Hist. N. Y.*, VI. 1017, VII. 2-14.

It is perhaps not without significance that these superintendencies coincided, in the main, with the northern and southern military districts, each in charge of a brigadier-general immediately under Major-General Gage. Experience gained from the French wars of the eighteenth century undoubtedly contributed materially in determining such a course. Commercial interests were, to be sure, involved. Yet the Indian question was inextricably interwoven with that of defense, and *vice versa*.

The Indian superintendents, though certainly aware of the source of their powers, stoutly opposed the complete subordination of their departments. Sir William Johnson, in particular, lodged a succession of complaints, although he appears to have become reconciled to the relationship by the time General Gage became his superior. But John Stuart, superintendent in the southern district, continued to chafe under the restriction for some time. In 1766, eleven years after the beginning of the system, Lord Shelburne found it necessary to remind him, and the superintendents in general, of their proper position in the following words:

As to what you propose of Instructions to be given to the Government to correspond with the Superintendants, His Majesty thinks it will answer sufficiently that your regular and fixed correspondence be with the Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces, the System of Indian Affairs are [as] managed by the Superintendants must ultimately be under his Direction. the different Governors can scarcely be supposed to coincide in opinion, nor is it possible for so many to act in Concert. You are therefore to take the Orders of the Commander in Chief on all interesting Occasions, who being settled in the Center of the Colonies will carry on the Correspondence with the Governors on all such Points . . . and as he will be very particularly instructed by Administration, you are to look upon him as a proper Medium of material Intelligence either to or from England or the Colonies.¹⁰

This language, so clear and explicit, admitted of no reservation or exception, and seems definitely to have settled the relationship.

A further evidence of control over this service is seen in the fact that all expenditures, such as those for salaries of deputy agents, commissaries, and other subordinate Indian officials, Indian congresses, and the marking of Indian boundary lines, were passed upon in the office of the general-in-chief.¹¹ The Indian trade, which was confined to the military posts during at least a part of the period, was always under the scrutiny of the army officers.¹²

¹⁰ Dec. 11, 1766; Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime*, p. 453. Similar instructions were despatched to Sir William Johnson, *ibid.*, p. 450.

¹¹ Gage to Barrington, Oct. 11, 1766, *ibid.*, p. 399.

¹² Compare order for regulation of Indian trade issued by the commander-in-chief in 1765, as printed in Alvord and Carter, *The Critical Period*, pp. 400-401,

The machinery of organization thus evolved for the management of Indians was therefore for all practical purposes an adjunct of the army. The areas and functions covered by each being in large measure the same, it was the natural tendency for the two departments to come under the same control. Indeed, the result was that the military arm was given additional powers and responsibilities which materially augmented its prestige. The ramifications of the Indian trade alone extended to all parts of British North America, New England, Virginia, Georgia, Nova Scotia; in fact, all the seaboard provinces were keenly interested in the competition for this lucrative branch of commerce and the operations of their merchants extended to the remotest parts of the new territories. Since this trade now came under the eyes of the commander-in-chief it brought his office into immediate contact with many powerful interests, which, up to this time, had felt only the rather loose control of the provincial governments.

Thus the commanding officer was placed in an important and powerful position. That this was clearly recognized by home officials is evident from a perusal of the correspondence that passed between Gage and the successive secretaries of state in charge of American affairs. In one of his communications to General Gage, Lord Shelburne, after referring to such matters as the status of American commerce and industry, colonial administration, Indian management, and colonial discontent, its causes and remedies, suggested that owing to the supreme importance of those questions, a confidential knowledge of the intentions of the government could be intrusted to no royal official so appropriately as to the commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America, who by "the nature of his Commission and his Trust holds by equal Ties to all the Provinces and watches equally over the safety of the whole". Shelburne then outlined three heads of inquiry to which Gage was to give his utmost attention and concerning which he was to transmit home from time to time all the information which he could gather, at the same time embodying his own opinions. The establishment of a proper system for the management of Indians and their trade; the disposition of the troops in North America; the reduction of the expenses of royal administration in the colonies, and the raising of a fund to defray these expenses

with instructions issued by Sir William Johnson to the Indian commissioners in 1767, to be found in *id.*, *The New Régime*, pp. 529-531. According to the latter, responsibility for the conduct of trade at the interior posts is transferred to the commissaries as proposed in the "Plan of 1764". The commissaries are to co-operate with post officials, however, and the expense accounts of the former are to be sent in on vouchers furnished by the latter.

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were the questions which the commander-in-chief was charged to study.¹³

This significant recognition of the importance of the military office is maintained throughout the entire period, regardless of changes in personnel of the officers of government. Gage's central location in the old colonies, with active lines of communication radiating from New York to each province on the seaboard, to the newly created provinces such as Quebec and the two Floridas, to the remotest parts of the Indian country, to certain of the insular possessions, such as the Bahamas and Jamaica, and even to the Spanish province of Louisiana, enabled him in the course of his official correspondence to compile a vast mass of information on a wide variety of subjects, especially concerning the defense and integrity of the empire. Incidentally he passed opinion, pursuant to the request of government, upon many projects, policies, and events, which were frequently, though not always, made the basis of governmental action.¹⁴

Indian politics, comprising such phases as commerce, alliances, incipient wars, boundaries, relations between the various nations, alien influences among the Indians, relations between British traders and military officials, and between these and the Indians, required an amount of patience, judgment, and imagination which we cannot assume to have been uniformly characteristic of Gage or of his subordinates. Nevertheless he was able to maintain the peace of the empire at critical moments. No doubt this was due in part to fortuitous circumstances; certainly it was due in part to his reliance upon the advice of his subordinates both in the Indian and the military branches of the service. It was equally within the power of his office to have created a situation fraught with unhappy results. We therefore find him recommending alliances with the Indians, and supporting this advice with all the influence of his office.¹⁵ We observe him indorsing the plan adopted in the province of West Florida of encouraging an intertribal war, and recommending a similar policy to be adopted toward the northern Indians.¹⁶ We observe him

¹³ Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime*, pp. 455-456. The original is in the Lansdowne MSS., LVII.

¹⁴ Hillsborough to Gage, Apr. 15, 1768, C. O. 5:86; Dec. 4, 1771, C. O. 5:88; Gage to Hillsborough, Nov. 10, 1770, C. O. 5:88.

¹⁵ Gage to Taylor, Dec. 18, 1766, Public Archives of Canada, ser. B. 2-2, p. 137. Taylor was the brigadier-general in charge of the southern department, with headquarters at Pensacola, West Florida.

¹⁶ Gage to Taylor, Aug. 14, 1766, *ibid.*, p. 118; Gage to the Duke of Richmond, Aug. 26, 1766, C. O. 5:84; Gage to Stuart, Aug. 30, 1766, Shelburne MSS., L.I.; Gage to Haldimand, June 21, 1768, Canadian Archives, B. 18, p. 101; Gage to Hillsborough, Sept. 9, 1769, C. O. 5:87; same to same, Sept. 3, 1771, C. O. 5:89.

attempting, unsuccessfully to be sure, to divert the Indian trade wholly into British hands, and seeking a method to eliminate the influence of alien agents among the Indians.¹⁷ We observe his condemnation of the policy of a provincial governor, resulting in the latter's recall.¹⁸

Another phase of the colonial situation, relating particularly to the problem of defense, concerned the delicate relationship subsisting between the British and the Spanish in the Mississippi Valley, notably on the extreme southwestern frontier. This was viewed as a military problem.¹⁹

Moreover, the former subjects of France and Spain who remained in their old homes after the transfer of sovereignty came in contact with the army more frequently than with the civil power. This was wholly true in the unorganized area. Not only were definite decisions that were of undoubted significance made in many instances, but opinions were offered on phases of the general problem upon which the ministry based its policy, at least in part. The military office transmitted, therefore, a succession of opinions on such significant questions as the abandonment of the western posts and the concentration of the troops in the east;²⁰ the best method of maintaining the military posts;²¹ the establishment of colonies in the unorganized western territory;²² the best methods of regulating the Indian trade;²³ land grants;²⁴ the rum trade, etc.

The supreme jurisdiction of the military power was comparatively easy to establish in the new country, especially where no organized civil jurisdiction was operative. The issue became more complex,

He also instructs his subordinates in West Florida to act as mediators in the intertribal war; Gage to Shelburne, Dec. 23, 1766, C. O. 5:84.

¹⁷ One or two citations from many of similar import. Gage to Hillsborough, June 16, 1768, C. O. 5:86; Nov. 10, 1770, C. O. 5:87.

¹⁸ Gage to Taylor, Dec. 18, 1766, Canadian Archives, B. 2-2, p. 137; Shelburne to Stuart, Sept. 13, 1766, Lansdowne MSS., LIII.

¹⁹ Gage to Taylor, June 10, 1766, Canadian Archives, B. 2-2, p. 104; Gage to Shelburne, Feb. 18, 1767, Shelburne MSS., II., f. 94; same to same, Apr. 7, 1767, C. O. 323:25; June 13, 1767, Shelburne MSS., LI; Hillsborough to Gage, Aug. 21, 1767, C. O. 5:85; Gage to Haldimand, Dec. 18, 1767, Canadian Archives, B. 3, p. 172; Hillsborough to Gage, Oct. 12, 1768, C. O. 5:86.

²⁰ Gage to Hillsborough, May 27, 1767, C. O. 5:85; June 16, 1768, Aug. 18, 1768, C. O. 5:86; Nov. 10, 1770, C. O. 5:88.

²¹ Gage to Hillsborough, Mar. 12, 1768, C. O. 5:86.

²² The best illustrations of Gage's interest and views are found in his letter to Hillsborough, under date of Nov. 10, 1770, C. O. 5:88.

²³ In many letters, too numerous for detailed citation herewith, Gage discusses the problem of the Indian trade from many points of view.

²⁴ Gage to Hillsborough, Feb. 11, 1764, C. O. 5:83; Jan. 5, 1769, C. O. 5:87.

however, when civil and military officials were on comparatively equal footing, at least in theory, as in such newly established governments as Quebec, East Florida, and West Florida, and, although of somewhat earlier date, Nova Scotia. In these areas there was continuous friction, with frequent appeals to the secretaries of state for decisions,²⁵ but withal there appears to have been a constant accretion of power to the military branch. Gage's usual instructions to his subordinates were to use common sense, and to refuse to dispute over trifles.²⁶ But this sentiment was generally offset by an insistence that they permit no encroachment upon the department's rights, which was interpreted to mean that wherever the military arm participated it should be supreme. His subordinates were instructed to obey his order to the letter under all circumstances, regardless of any orders emanating from other sources.²⁷ Space does not suffice to detail the many instances of clashes between the two jurisdictions.²⁸ Naturally the problems of Indian management, of provincial defense, and of relations to inhabitants of alien blood gave added significance and prestige to army officials, since it was the latter's function to deal with such issues. In the province of Quebec, moreover, we observe a union of the offices of civil governor and military commander.²⁹ For a time a similar arrangement was made in Nova Scotia.³⁰ It appears evident, therefore, that the connection between Pensacola, St. Augustine, and Halifax was much closer to general headquarters in New York than to the Colonial Office in London.

In the older provinces we find less self-assertion on the part of army officials. The parochially minded people of such colonies as New York or Massachusetts had a great body of tradition to rely upon; they were too sensitive as to their rights to admit of the least

²⁵ *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, I. 172 ff., 288 ff.

²⁶ Gage to Haldimand, Mar. 28, 1766, War Office 1:7; Feb. 20, 1773, *Canadian Archives*, B. 5, p. 121.

²⁷ Gage to Taylor, Aug. 14, 1766, *Canadian Archives*, B. 2-2, p. 118; Sept. 29, 1766, *ibid.*, p. 131; Gage to Shelburne, Nov. 11, 1766, C. O. 5:84.

²⁸ Documents illustrating many details of this controversy in West Florida may be found in the *Miss. Provincial Archives*, I. 172 ff., 288 ff., and 338 ff.; for the province of Quebec, see *ibid.*, I. 451; *The Maseres Letters, 1766-1768* (ed. W. Stewart Wallace), pp. 78 ff. See also Gage to Halifax, Feb. 23, 1765, C. O. 5:83; A. L. Burt, "The Mystery of Walker's Ear", in the *Canadian Historical Review*, III. 233-255. In East Florida Governor Grant sought to maintain a "Personal Command" over all departments—the fort, the artillery, ordnance, etc., "except the private regimental detail". This was resented and resisted by the military officials. Taylor to Haldimand, Feb. 13, 1768, and Taylor to Gage, Feb. 14, 1768, *Canadian Archives*, B. 11, pp. 365, 368.

²⁹ Gage to Richmond, Aug. 27, 1766, C. O. 5:84.

³⁰ Same to same, Oct. 8, 1766, C. O. 5:84.

encroachment without protesting loudly and in general effectively. In the areas just considered population was very meagre and we could not expect even a mild protest against the domination of the military except from the royal civil officials. In these older provinces, however, we have a wholly different set of conditions. Certain issues arose which gave occasion for numerous tests of strength. For example, certain new laws must be enforced, such as the provisions of the Mutiny Act and the Quartering Acts, which concerned both branches of the administration.³¹ The Mutiny Act, modified in some particulars, had been extended to America in 1765, largely because of representations from the commander-in-chief. In that year he communicated to the Earl of Halifax, secretary for the southern department, the following statement:

It becomes Necessary for me, to acquaint your Lordship, that the Difficultys in Carrying on the Service in North America, increase very fast. It is declared generally, that the Mutiny Act does not extend to America, but in such Clauses only where it is particularly Specified to extend to the Plantations, or to His Majesty's Dominions beyond the Seas. Soldiers are seduced from the King's Service, Deserters protected and Secreted, Arms, Cloaths, etc purchased, Quarters and Carriages refused, without incurring any Penalty. Officers have been prosecuted and fined for Seizing Deserters, Seduced from their Regiments, and indented as private Servants; sent to Jail for being in the Quarters which had been allotted for them, and prosecuted for getting Carriages on their March. The Report of Such Examples tho' not as yet frequent, spread abroad, and the People in general begin to be Sensible, that they are not obliged to do, what they submitted to, in Times of Danger. It will soon be difficult in the present Situation, to keep Soldiers in the Service; or possible to March and quarter them where the Service shall require . . . without Numberless Prosecutions, or perhaps worse Consequences.³²

It appears that in the enforcement of the mutiny and other acts the chief sufferer in prestige was the royal executive, who stood midway between the encroaching military power and the recalcitrant assemblies. He was between two fires: if he yielded to the assembly he was held responsible by the commander-in-chief, and if he yielded to the latter to the extent of actively co-operating in the enforcement of the law, he lost his prestige as governor. There arose, also, certain disputes between governor and commander-in-chief in reference to

³¹ For the purpose of removing some of the difficulties incurred in enforcing those clauses of the Mutiny Act relating to the quartering of troops, Gage recommended certain changes in the law in a letter to Shelburne, Apr. 3, 1767; Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime*, pp. 548-549.

³² Jan. 23, 1765; Alvord and Carter, *The Critical Period*, pp. 422-423. Gage informs the secretary that a paper is being enclosed which submitted definite proposals for amendments to the Mutiny Act calculated to make it suit the peculiar circumstances of America.

questions of precedence on occasions of general councils of governors and other assemblages of varied character, social and other. The commander-in-chief persistently claimed precedence and refused to participate in any councils or social gatherings unless accorded the first position.³³ Moreover, whenever disputes arose between Indian superintendents and governors in the matter of their respective powers, as frequently happened, he threw the support of his office to the former.³⁴

In this eastern area general army headquarters likewise became a great clearing-house for information on all manner of questions.³⁵ Especially was this true with reference to the Stamp Act disturbances and the disputes growing out of the subsequent levying of other revenue duties.³⁶ Gage's correspondence constitutes an epitome of the whole contest, of course always from the official point of view. Located in the centre of the area of disturbance, he was in a strategic position to observe events and to gather information. As already suggested by the communications from Shelburne, he was especially deputed to study the problems of retrenchment in North America and the best method of raising an American fund to defray American expenses. To these questions he gave most diligent attention. His opinions were based upon a wide correspondence with his military subordinates in different parts of America, notably in the various centres of disturbance in the Indian country and of civil disorder in the old colonies; with the Indian superintendents and often with their subordinates; with the Secretary of State for the Colonies; with the Secretary at War; with the leading merchants and public men of the colonies—all on a multiplicity of questions. As has already been pointed out, his correspondence related to such matters as Indian politics, in its various aspects, commercial and political; forts and posts; boundary disputes; technical military questions; imperial policies relative to the founding of new colonies in the West; taxation; character of the colonial governments; disputes between military and civil departments; relations with France and Spain; and the treatment of alien subjects.

Thus in two distinct spheres; the Indian reservation and the management of Indians, the military office was supreme; in a third, the newly created provinces, it seriously and often successfully disputed

³³ *Docs. rel. to Col. Hist. N. Y.*, VIII. 16, 17, 73, 97-99.

³⁴ The foregoing statement is based upon a perusal of many communications emanating from Gage's office.

³⁵ For example, Hillsborough to Gage, June 12, 1770, and Nov. 10, 1770, C. O. 5: 88.

³⁶ Hillsborough to Gage, Oct. 12, 1768, C. O. 5: 86.

power with the civil magistrates; in a fourth, the old colonial area, it was provoking embarrassment on the part of civil officials and active resentment on the part of the people; and finally, in the whole of British North America, it was the clearing-house for information and a source for opinions, based upon observation and correspondence, as to the proper policies to be formulated and enforced. It was a central agency which persisted for a longer period than any that had yet appeared. And it persisted to a considerable degree without definite authorization, though royal direction and parliamentary enactment at times gave impetus to the growth of its power.

In the Declaration of Independence there is a passage which declares that the king "has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil Power". Evidently this charge in the indictment against George III. implies more than a reference to affairs in the years from 1774 to 1776. From its location in the document the charge evidently belongs with that group which characterized the conduct of government in the years antecedent to the passage of the coercive acts of 1774. In its memorial to the king in 1774 the first Continental Congress, as has already been suggested, placed foremost among the grievances of the American people the presence of a standing army and the assertion of authority by a commander-in-chief. "The Authority of the commander-in-chief, and under him, of the brigadier's general, has in time of peace been rendered supreme in all the civil governments in America." Doubtless these sentiments of Congress were expressive of the views of a goodly group by 1774. Prior to that date it is not unusual to find private utterances of similar import on the part of American observers. Franklin was suggesting in 1770 that the keeping of a standing army in the colonies without the consent of the assemblies "is not agreeable to the Constitution".³⁷ In 1768 Governor Pitkin of Connecticut feared the unhappy tendencies that might result from a continuance of such a policy.³⁸ Yet there is little evidence to indicate that the general situation, as outlined in this paper, was wholly understood by many prior to 1774. The irritating aspects always associated with the presence of an army were certainly not forgotten. But the general significance of the army's presence was not fully perceived until time had lent it perspective. However that may be, the men responsible for the expressions found in the declarations of the two congresses had seen those unmistakable tendencies to which attention has been directed in the present study.

³⁷ Franklin to Cooper, June 8, 1770, *Writings* (ed. Smyth), V. 259.

³⁸ Pitkin to Jackson, June 10, 1768, *Mass. Hist. Soc., Collections*, fifth ser., IX. 288.

To be sure, there is indisputable evidence that British officials had no thought of establishing a jurisdiction in America that would be superior to the civil power³⁹—the actual intention being to retain the army simply for purposes of defense. Nevertheless, a mechanism was in the process of development which undoubtedly facilitated the assumption of such power in the later crisis, a concurrent power which loomed larger as the years passed and as revolutionary disorders increased.

CLARENCE E. CARTER.

³⁹ Hillsborough to Governor Moore, May 14, 1768, *Docs. rel. to Col. Hist. N. Y.*, VIII. 73; Hillsborough to Gage, Jan. 11, 1772, *Canadian Archives*, B. 5, p. 57.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

CHARLES V.'S LAST PAPER OF ADVICE TO HIS SON

ONE of the most useful sources for the reign of the Emperor Charles V. is the various "Poderes y Instrucciones" which he left for those who represented him in Spain during his many absences. The most famous are those addressed to his son Philip from Madrid on November 5, 1539; from Palamos on May 4 and 6, 1543; and from Augsburg on January 18, 1548: they have been published many times (most recently by the late F. de Laiglesia¹ in *Estudios Históricos* (Madrid, 1918-1919), I. 31-39, 69-92. There is also another instruction to Philip, dated at Brussels on October 25, 1555, which has been printed by Dr. Bruno Stübel in the *Archiv für Oesterreichische Geschichte*, XCIII. 183-248.² There are, moreover, in the "Patronato Real" in the Archives of Simancas, a number of other "Poderes y Instrucciones" from the Emperor to different persons, at various periods of his reign. Among these are a whole series addressed to his Portuguese queen, Isabella, in the years 1528-1529, 1535, and 1538; another lot to his daughter, Maria, and her husband, his nephew, the Archduke Maximilian, who represented him in Spain in 1548; another to his younger daughter, Juana, in 1554; and a number of special directions to ministers and councils scattered through the years 1520-1555.³ And there is, finally, in the Real Academia de Historia (Varios de Historia, Sign. Est. 27, gr. 5^a, E. no. 134, tomo I, f. 12) the short paper of general advice to Philip which is printed below.⁴

The endorsement shows that the copy in question was made after the death of Philip in 1598, and the handwriting looks like that of the late seventeenth century. The date of the original is almost cer-

¹ Laiglesia also published (*Estudios Históricos*, I. 41-68) a series of instructions from the Emperor to the different government departments, dated May 1, 1543, at Barcelona.

² Cf. on all this, Willibald Richter, *Die Politischen Testamente Kaiser Karls V. und ihre Stellung in der Politischen Anschauung seiner Zeit*, Doktor Dissertation der Universität Leipzig (Halle a. S., Kämmerer, 1911).

³ This information was furnished me by the great kindness of Señor Enrique Pacheco y de Leyva, the well-known author of *La Política Española en Italia* (Madrid, 1919) and other works. He has made copies of all these documents and expects to publish them.

⁴ I copied this document in 1911, and compared my copy with the original last October.

tainly 1556, when the Emperor abdicated and went back to Spain; the fact that Philip is referred to in the title and endorsement as "rey" instead of "principe" points directly to this conclusion. On the other hand, it is fair to say that the title "king" was sometimes loosely used to indicate a prince regent who afterwards succeeded; and there is just a bare chance that the paper belongs to the year 1551, when Philip returned from his visit to the Empire and the Netherlands; for it would seem somewhat more likely from the context that the "dió su buelta" in the heading refers to the son than to the father. The balance of the probabilities, however, indicates the date 1556, and the tone of the document is that of a man who had recently laid down his sceptre and was going into retirement.

The document is chiefly interesting as evidence of the Hispanicization, during his later years, of Charles's originally dynastic point of view. Much of it may be doubtless regarded as counsels of perfection, such as would naturally be given by a man who has done with the world and is about to seek rest and peace in the seclusion of a monastery. But there is also much that shows how deeply the Emperor had taken to heart the lessons that he had learned in his capacity as king of Spain. The solicitude for the Inquisition and the expulsion of the Moors reveals a truly Spanish zeal for unity of the faith; thirty-nine years before, the gawky Flemish alien had shown almost no interest in such matters. The paragraphs dealing with the king's servants and advisers indicate a truly Spanish dread of the preponderance of a "valido"; clearly Charles envisaged a system of checks and balances, which would keep the different ministers on approximately the same level. Shortage of funds had been his bugbear all his life ("*Nervus belli est pecunia*, which he will not have without Spain", as Sir Thomas Spinelly expressed it in 1520);⁵ by cutting off the Empire and the Austrian lands, Charles hoped that his son's treasury might some day be replenished. But the injunction "to keep peace with France as far as possible, but never to lose the friendship of England" is perhaps the most interesting and significant of all. During the first part of his reign, Charles had fought France in a war whose causes were only partially Spanish. In 1529 he had made a "peace without victory" and satisfied the oft-repeated demands of his Spanish subjects that the struggle be brought to a close. Moreover, he had striven earnestly to preserve that peace ever since; that he had failed to do so was the fault of his rival. He had begun his war with France in alliance with Henry VIII., but he had lost that alliance in 1526, and until he regained it in 1543, the attitude of

⁵ *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.*, vol. III., app. 13.

England had caused him ceaseless anxiety. A period of latent hostility had followed under Edward VI.; then, in 1554, the two countries had come together again, through the marriage of Queen Mary to Charles's son, Philip. If, as seems almost certain, this paper was written in 1556, Philip must have almost given up hope of issue by his English queen; Charles doubtless foresaw the succession of the Protestant Elizabeth, and may possibly have had some inkling of how disastrous it might prove for Spain. He was at least firmly convinced of the wisdom of his "consejeros" and "procuradores", who had so often begged him "to keep peace with Christian Kings".

ROGER B. MERRIMAN.

Puntos que Enbió el emperador don Carlos de gloriosa memoria al Rey Don Phelipe su hijo quando dió su buelta a España. De la manera que mejor se havia de gobernar.

Amad a Dios sobre todas las cossas y servilde devotamente: hazed Justicia yguualmente a todos.

Tened cuydado que la Inquisicion sea bien exercitada y que so color della no se haga agravio a nadie.

Guardad paz con Francia todo lo que pudieres, pero no perdays jamas la amistad de Inglaterra.

Meted tal orden en vuestra casa y hazienda que tengais cada año algun tesoro para alguna necesidad que os podria venir.

Terneys cuydado que vuestros soldados esten siempre bien en orden pagandoles bien: y no sufrays desordenes dellos.

No deys oficio ni beneficio en Encomienda ni merced a los que los piden, sino daldes vos mismo a quien las merezen.

Y para hazer esto sera necessario tener un Registro a donde esten escriptos los nombres de vuestros buenos criados y servidores de vuestros reynos tan eclesiasticos como seglares, principalmente de los que os podriades mejor servir, ofresciendose ocassion dello para proveerlos en su ausencia y sin que lo sepan, a uno de un beneficcio, a otro de un officio o Gobierno o encomienda, merced o pension o de otra cossa, cada uno segun su qualidad y meritos.

Que en vuestros conssejos metays los mas savios y de mejor vida y buena conciencia que pudieredes hallar, no parciales ni criados y que dependan de algunos grandes.

Semejantemente no deys ningun officio ni regimiento ni corregimiento a pedimiento de algun grande, ni a sus criados y servidores, sino que los deys a gente onrrada y buena que dependan solamente de vos.

Hechad los moros de vuestros Reynos.

Remunerad a vuestros buenos servidores y castigad los malos y sereys bien servido.

[Endorsed:] Documentos breves del Emperador de gloriosa memoria don Carlos. Al Rey don Philipe que esta en gloria.

SOME PROBLEMS OF THE FIRST REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN¹

THE approach of the year 1856 found the Republican party by no means well established. Its rival in opposition to the Democrats was the American party which, as the election returns for 1855 proved, greatly outnumbered the Republicans. Schism along sectional lines was proving disastrous to the Americans and the newly formed Republican National Committee, headed by Edwin D. Morgan of New York, was not slow to take advantage of this split, if indeed they did not themselves help to bring it about. Negotiations between the committee and the northern wing or "North Americans" resulted in the endorsement of Fremont by the latter group, although they persisted in nominating a vice-presidential candidate, William F. Johnston of Pennsylvania,² on the understanding, so they later claimed, that the Republican nominee, Dayton, would be withdrawn in Johnston's favor. The first problem, therefore, before the reorganized Republican National Committee, with Morgan still chairman, was the adjustment of the vice-presidential question in order to effect a firm coalition between Republicans and North Americans.

Immediate action was necessary. The customary ratification meetings were raising a serious issue in certain Northern states. Should they be Fremont and Dayton or Fremont and Johnston meetings? The Republicans could afford to lose no states; in Connecticut and Massachusetts the Americans had a formidable strength which, if lost, might easily mean Democratic victory; on the other hand, too close affiliation with the American party might turn off the German vote upon which, especially in Pennsylvania, the Republicans counted. In Connecticut, in fact, there seemed to be a tendency for Republicans to support the Fremont-Johnston ticket. Welles wrote to Morgan, June 26, asking him to do something to get Johnston out of the way. He advised that Thurlow Weed and Truman Smith, prominent Whigs of former days when Johnston was of that group, endeavor to persuade him to withdraw.

Morgan took two steps. He apprised Dayton's friends of the quandary, thinking that possibly Dayton might withdraw. And on the other hand he encouraged the Americans of Massachusetts to endorse Dayton at their state council on July 1, sending Allen of

¹ The material for these notes is taken largely from the Welles correspondence in the Library of Congress. As most of the data are taken from letters from Morgan to Welles, citation from that series will simply bear the date.

² McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, VIII. 230-249; H. R. Mueller, *Whig Party in Pennsylvania* (New York, 1922), pp. 226-228; New York *Herald*, June 11-21, 1856.

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Massachusetts there to represent him. Then came a surprise. On June 30, there arrived at Republican headquarters, Trinity Building, New York City, a letter signed by Francis H. Ruggles of New York and Lucius G. Peck of Connecticut. These gentlemen, chairman and secretary of the North American National Committee, declared that Fremont had been nominated "upon the assurances given by numerous and prominent leaders of the Republicans, that in that event Mr. Dayton . . . would be induced to withdraw in favor of the American Candidate for the Vice Presidency". Therefore they demanded that Morgan write a letter immediately, to be used in the Massachusetts council meeting the next day, promising Dayton's withdrawal. Morgan saw fit to ignore the communication.³

Neither of these steps brought results. Dayton refused to withdraw and in Massachusetts, after a split caused by nearly half of the council seceding to support Fillmore, the remainder endorsed Fremont and Johnston. Morgan then began to feel it to be rather impolitic to exhibit to the Americans any anxiety; he was inclined to let matters take their own way, hoping that Johnston's support would dwindle away.⁴ But Connecticut was still making trouble. The council of the Americans, held July 10, showed an antipathy for Dayton; but the party leaders, after negotiations initiated by the Republicans, agreed to simultaneous conventions. These meetings were to be held August 6, for the purpose of forming a coalition electoral ticket in Connecticut. Contrary to some expectations a ticket was there agreed upon and Fremont was endorsed; no action was taken on a vice-presidential endorsement. Dayton's friends suspected that he had been sacrificed for Johnston.⁵

The next move was another letter which Morgan received on August 4, from the North American committee, proposing the joint withdrawal of Dayton and Johnston and a new convention to choose a new candidate. This Morgan answered by a personal call at the North American headquarters, where he threatened to call together the Republican National Committee and answer their letter, saying "that the answer was *very likely to do harm*—nevertheless as they *pressed it*, we [the National Committee] would not be so discourteous as not to reply". This refusal to concede anything rather nonplussed Peck, Ruggles, and their associates and they speedily asked Morgan

³ June 28, July 9.

⁴ July 9; Boston *Herald*, July 2.

⁵ J. D. Baldwin to Welles, Boston, July 11, 1856; *Columbian Register* (New Haven, Conn.), Aug. 16, 1856; New London (Conn.) *Weekly Democrat*, Aug. 9, 1856.

to take no notice of their letter, protesting that it should never have been sent and that they wanted no answer.⁶

In spite of his bold front to the Americans, Morgan on August 8 wrote to Dayton once more in regard to his withdrawal. To this Dayton replied: "How it is possible that a body of *thinking* men could suppose that I would *take the responsibility* of withdrawing after a nomination by a Convention *knowing all the facts*, I am at a loss to conceive. A sense of self respect, the weight of responsibility involved in such an act, as well as ordinary good faith towards the Republican Convention would forbid it." He countered by describing overtures that had been made to him. Stockton was urging that he go on the ticket with Fillmore, alleging that the Connecticut Republicans were supporting Fremont and Johnston; a proposal which he had refused.⁷

Little is revealed of the rest of the story. A meeting of the National Committee was held August 20. On September 1, Morgan was able to report that Johnston had written a letter withdrawing. Morgan explained this action: "I think it proper to say that Johnson [*sic*] had an interview with Col. Fremont and all is satisfactory, though I know no promise was made to him, the Colonel [Fremont] said in case of his Election he should give all his friends who participated in it fair play."⁸

While the Republican leaders were eliminating Johnston they were becoming concerned over finance. Little preparation seems to have been made for the raising of funds, as no regular treasurer had been appointed. Indeed it was not until late in August that serious steps began to be taken to raise any money and then John T. Howard of 34 Broadway, New York City, took charge of collected funds.⁹ It was the imperative need of carrying Pennsylvania which made the question of funds important.

Extraordinary efforts were needed. Charles Gibbons, the state chairman, required outside assistance in obtaining press support. He had secured the *Philadelphia Times*, but more papers were needed. Strange to say, Lieutenant-Governor Thomas H. Ford of Ohio, recently a very prominent American and participant in the North American Convention of June, was intrusted with the task of going to Pennsylvania to buy up some newspapers; he was given *carte blanche* to draw on the committee for \$5,000.¹⁰ This draft having been

⁶ Aug. 8.

⁷ Aug. 12; Dayton to Morgan, Aug. 15.

⁸ Sept. 1; Mueller, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

⁹ Chace to Welles, Sept. 24.

¹⁰ July 21, Aug. 27, Oct. 8; Welles to James T. Hale, Sept. 4.

authorized, cash was necessary to meet it; as Welles naïvely said: "Funds are very essential . . . for money will command some kinds of assistance that cannot be otherwise secured. There is no stimulant like it." Efforts toward raising revenue had been slack—not until the middle of September did earnest work begin. Weed went to Philadelphia to meet Cameron. Banks came to New York. Here he addressed a large gathering of business men from the Merchants Exchange, appealing to them to support the Republican party. In a week \$2,000 came from Boston, with a promise of \$5,000 more. Then on the night of September 29, about forty Republicans went out through New York City, and came back with pledges for \$8,000. By October 8, the assets of the National Committee were approximately \$15,000. After much of this had been spent, Ford returned with a list of about fifteen newspapers which he had procured at an expense of \$8,000 which later grew to \$10,000. Morgan felt that this was a little high, but set out, albeit rather reluctantly, to raise the balance.¹¹

Then came the blow of October 14; in spite of these efforts the Pennsylvania state election was carried by the Democrats. Discouraging as this seemed to many, it did not bring the efforts of the campaign managers to an end.¹² Attempts were again made with little success to form combination electoral tickets composed of representatives of the Republican, North American, and Fillmore parties.

The final spurt was in the direction of raising money, and collectors were sent out. One of them carried a letter of introduction from Morgan which expressed the committee's continued earnestness: "We intend to make a most decided effort to secure the vote of the State of Penna. . . . for which a large sum will be required. . . ." The secretary of the committee, Chace, felt that the Keystone state could be carried with \$50,000 and a good organization.¹³ The last-minute efforts are best described by Morgan:

We have been and are now exerting ourselves to raise money for Pa. I authorized a draft on me yesterday for \$5,000 and for \$25,000 in event of Fremont's election. At Boston the true men meet at 3 o'clock today for the same purpose, at Phila. Mr. Lindley Smith, a merchant, is at the same thing, meantime the rabid Fillmores are pushing *their own* ticket in desperation, or to elect Buchanan. . . .

I am confident that but for Americanism, victory would be certain. *Our union ticket has been adopted at Harrisburg.* Not a Union ticket of the two parties for the *South Americans run their own.* But a ticket made

¹¹ Sept. 11, 19, 30, Oct. 8; Welles to Morgan, Sept. 13; Chace to Welles, Oct. 11.

¹² McMaster, VIII. 275, gives the opposite impression.

¹³ Oct. 20; Chace to Welles, Oct. 21.

by the State Executive Fremont Committee of Penna., and it ought to be satisfactory to Germans and to everybody honestly desiring the defeat of Buchanan.¹⁴

Mr. Chace is in Phila. and so is Mr. Truman Smith, with Cameron and other leading men of our party from various parts of that State. They are disposing of the funds as the combined wisdom may deem most judicious. They also have a contingent fund, only to be paid upon Fremont's election by the Electoral College, to be chosen on the 4th Novr. \$25,000 has been used in this way and \$25,000 more with the same condition will be put in a shape for use in Phila. and in other counties. They also have all the ready money we can raise, and are using it. In New Jersey there will be a union tomorrow (already agreed upon by the Fillmore and Fremont state committees) not to be public till their leading men confirm it. Stockton has been here and is in it.¹⁵

Here the correspondence relating to this campaign ends. These letters provide valuable material for a study in practical politics, but they leave room for many conjectures which more evidence alone can answer. What agency did Republican leaders have in the American schism? What is the history of the Republican-American negotiations at Philadelphia in June, 1856? Were promises of Dayton's withdrawal made? Why did prominent Americans like Ford immediately receive responsible places in the campaign organization? What attempts were made at coalition in the various states? These are some of the questions raised. Their answers would demonstrate that the first Republican managers were deeply concerned over problems other than slavery and "bleeding Kansas".

ROY FRANKLIN NICHOLS.

¹⁴ Oct. 22.

¹⁵ Oct. 27; the New Jersey scheme seems to have fallen through.

DOCUMENTS

Washington and the Potomac: Manuscripts of the Minnesota Historical Society, [1754] 1769-1796, I.

IN 1826 General John Mason, of Virginia, son of George Mason of Gunston Hall, possessed a large bundle of papers relating to the opening of navigation up the Potomac River, which had been entrusted to him by General Washington, a year or two before the latter's death. Mason lent nine of these papers, in that year, 1826, to Andrew Stewart, member of the House of Representatives from Pennsylvania. Stewart made excellent use of these in his report of 1826 on the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, and, fortunately, printed nearly all of the nine in the appendix to that report. Writing in 1853 to John Pickell, he says that he returned "the original manuscript" (manuscripts) to General Mason.¹ The documents which are here printed seem to come from the same Mason collection. The history of these letters and papers, folded neatly and endorsed by Washington, from 1826 until they were discovered in the manuscript division of the Minnesota Historical Society in 1922, will probably never be known, though certain vague references point to 1870 as the date of their acquisition by that institution. They form a unit, all dealing with the navigation of the Potomac and James rivers, and cover the period 1754-1796. The only exception is a letter from Stephen Sayre of November 15, 1787, relating to the new constitution of the United States. In all, the group consists of thirty-eight pieces, including three pen sketches. Some papers of the bundle as it came from Washington's file have been lost, notably all but one of those documents bearing his signature. Fortunate it is, sometimes, that the autograph collector seldom recognizes the value of an unsigned manuscript; for nearly every piece in this collection has writing by Washington upon it, and several are entirely in his autograph.

Some of these papers are drafts of acts, resolves, etc., that may be found among the printed laws of Maryland and Virginia. The majority, however, will prove an unworked mine for the economic history of Maryland and Virginia in the second half of the century; for the antecedents and activities of the Potomac Company; and for chapters in the lives of two great men, George Washington and

¹ 19 Cong., 1 sess., *House Report* no. 228, pp. 25-35. John Pickell, *A New Chapter in the Early Life of Washington* (New York, 1856), p. 175.

Thomas Johnson. They fill many gaps that Mrs. Bacon-Foster in her excellent account of early efforts to obtain water communication between Chesapeake Bay and the Ohio River was obliged to leave through dearth of material.

Even granting his primary object to have been that of making his lands on the Ohio and Potomac more valuable, nothing is more indicative of genuine statesmanship in George Washington than his early perception of the significance of the West, and his unremitting efforts to bind it to the thirteen states by making the Potomac the avenue of commerce for the back country. These papers show that as early as 1754 he was studying the obstructions in the Potomac, and that his interest never abated until his death. In his quest for accurate data on the most convenient route to the Ohio, he unwittingly preserved for posterity many valuable facts regarding early forges and furnaces, paths and portages in the interior, cost of transportation to tidewater from the up-country, quantities of flour and iron exported, and so forth.²

The papers when discovered were scattered through a collection of miscellaneous manuscripts with no indication that they had ever been together. As many were undated and unsigned, it has been somewhat of a problem to determine sequence, authorship, etc. The handwriting has been the surest guide to authorship, nearly all the men with whom Washington corresponded on the subject having very individual autographs. The date of most of the uncertain documents can be judged fairly closely by internal evidence. Unless otherwise indicated, the endorsements as printed below are Washington's. Four resolutions by Maryland and Virginia legislatures of 1784 and 1785 have been omitted, as they are to be found in the printed journals of those years, and a few other documents for reasons indicated in each case.

In view of the fact that Washington's letters of 1754 in this collection have already been published,³ no further account of them need be taken, except to point out what the editor has not made sufficiently clear, namely, that the single sheet bears two letters: one presumably to Innes, dated August 12, 1754, relating to campaign events; the other dealing with the navigation of the Potomac, with

² For Washington's interest in western lands and his early perception of the significance of the region beyond the mountains, one could not do better than to read Archer B. Hulbert, *Washington and the West* (New York, 1905), and Herbert B. Adams, "Washington's Interest in Western Lands", in *Johns Hopkins Univ. Studies*, third series, III. 55-77.

³ Warren Upham, "Washington's Canoe Trip down the Potomac Related in a Letter to Colonel Innes", in *Records of the Past*, IX. 74-79.

no address and no date. One error in transcribing the undated letter needs to be mentioned. Instead of "Snyerland Island" read "Sugarland Island".

What are evidently the rough notes from which the undated letter was written are found on a fragile sheet bearing in the upper left-hand corner a rough sketch of a portion of the Potomac. A bit of extraneous matter on the back reads, "to represent to the assembly their protection of the wounded men—also to have the articles of War made authoris'd". As Washington's letter to Governor Dinwiddie of August 20, 1754,⁴ mentions the matter of martial versus military law as that by which his men are to be guided; and as Dinwiddie's letter to Washington of September 11, 1754,⁵ refers to the failure of the Assembly to provide for the wounded men, it seems likely that both the rough notes and the letter describing the Potomac were written in August, 1754. The fact that the undated letter was written *over* the letter of August 12 places the date of the former sometime after that of the latter.

GRACE L. NUTE.

I. JOHN SEMPLE'S PROPOSALS FOR CLEARING THE POTOMAC.⁶

The opening and making convenient Passage for Vessells of Ten to Fifeteen Tons Burthen; through such particular parts of the River Potomac, above the Great falls, as is now difficult, and render Tedious and Expensive Portages necessary, has been long considered as highly mereting the public attention; But as is often the fate of matters wherein many are interested, little has been hitherto done to carry it into execution. On Generall Braddocks arrivall att Alexandria a fair prospect was presented of having it Speedily done. It admitted of no sort of dispute, that much the readiest and easiest communication with the waters of the Ohio and consequently Fort du Quisnie⁷ must be by the river Potomac, as it woud reduce the whole of the land carriage from Alexandria to the aforesd: fort, (now fort Pitt) a distance of two hundred and Sixty miles to no more than Seventy. The Generall Sensible of the Superior advantages of this conveyance, undoubtedly had its improvement in view, and made use of it even in the State. It was for the carriage of his Artillery, Ammunition and Provisions a great part of the way: His defeat and Death and

⁴ *Writings of George Washington* (ed. Sparks), II, 60.

⁵ "The Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie", in *Collections of the Virginia Historical Society*, I, 317. Of course it is possible that Washington used a piece of scrap paper which chanced to have this statement on it, so that no absolute certainty as to the date of the observations on the Potomac is afforded thereby. If Stewart is correct (*House Report* no. 228, 19 Cong., 1 sess., p. 26), the date may be definitely placed as 1754; but he, too, may have been misled by the fact that a letter dated 1754 was written on the same sheet.

⁶ Two manuscripts of this document are included in the group, one apparently copied from the other. Both are in Semple's handwriting and one of them is endorsed by Washington.

⁷ Fort Duquesne.

the consequences resulting therefrom, Facts too recent to want enlarging upon, put an entire Stop to all further proceedings. The future Operations to the westward were by a peculiar Management unnaturally carried on from a quite different quarter and Potomac lay neglected.⁸ A Second attempt was afterwards made to have it done by private Subscription which being in the time of the late war and thought by many to be too heavy for private persons to accomplish, It was proposed to apply to the Legislature for their concurrence and assistance in a work of Such Generall Utility, some of that respectable body being consulted, they advised the posponing of it to a more favourable opportunity. The people at that time being heavily burthened with taxes occasioned by the late war upon which the matter was laid aside.⁹ The last mentioned objection being now happily removed, It is hoped that an application to the Legislature in a work of so publick a nature will not at present be thought unseasonable or impertinent. The vast bodies of land now ceded to us by the Indians¹⁰ must open a new and extensive field of commerce, of which the River Potomac must necessarily be the principall channell, not to mention the very lucrative Skin and furr Trade which this must make our own whenever we chuse to make use of it. As some Gentlemen¹¹ have lately carefully viewed the river and computed the Expence of removing the different obstacles, that obstruct and make the passage of Vessells Difficult, the following account of their observations may not be unnecessary. Viz. From the lowest landing place to which it is proposed opening a passage, The Widow Brouster's Two miles above the great falls or cataract and within ten miles of Tide water There is good water for five miles to the lower part of Seneca falls which consists of continued Rifts of Rocks for near a mile up the River, these may be easily passed as only two Short Dams, with Gates placed in them, four or five feet in height in a narrow naturall channell between a chain of Islands and the Main, will be required to raise the water a Sufficient Height at the Dam Mr Ballendine¹² has built across the channell, in which if a third gate be put, it will raise it to the levell of the water above the falls. The Expence of all which, by the aforesd: Gentlemen is computed not to exceed £250 as this will be the only safe and practicable pass, and as Mr Ballendine intends Erecting a saw Mill and other works on the said channell woud it not be expedient and

⁸ In 1758 General Forbes selected a Pennsylvania route for his advance and made a road directly over the mountains. This was more than Virginia and Maryland could endure comfortably. See Mrs. Corra Bacon-Foster, "Early Chapters in the Development of the Potomac Route to the West", in *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, XV. 109 (also as a separate print), and a letter from Washington to Bouquet, Aug. 2, 1758, *Writings of George Washington* (ed. Ford), II. 62.

⁹ Is this the project which Scharf mentions, "and about the year 1762, he [Washington] projected a chain of improvements by the route of the Potomac from 'Fort Cumberland, at Wills' Creek, to the Great Falls'"? J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1879), II. 518.

¹⁰ By the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, 1768. See C. W. Alvord, "The British Ministry and the Treaty of Fort Stanwix", in *Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, 1908, pp. 165-183.

¹¹ See Thomas Johnson's letter of June 18, 1770, *infra*, no. IV.

¹² See *The Potomac Route to the West*, p. 117, and, *infra*, no. VII., the declaration of the trustees at a meeting in Frederick Town, Nov. 16, 1774.

even necessary for the Legislature to interpose and prevent him from Executing his plan, in such a manner as may be so injurious to the community, as Stop the farther passage past that place, More Especially as it would require but a trifling additional Expenditure to have a passage through his Dam and to continue his race a little farther which would equally answer every purpose he can propose to himself. From these falls there is now water sufficient for Boats properly constructed, during the winter and Spring months, and generally as late as the last of June or July as High as Payne's falls (the foot of what is called Shanadoah falls) a distance of about forty miles. Paynes falls consisteth of a narrow Rift of Rocks, extending across the River which may be passed through a natural channell in land that may be improv'd, so as to admit the passage of Vessels such as aforesaid at an Expenditure not exceeding £250, from thence it is about two miles and a half to that remarkable fall called the Spout at present the most difficult and dangerous above the great falls which ariseth not so much from its Height, as from the water of almost the whole River being confined and forced through a narrow Rocky Passage that makes it rapid, and subjects Vessels to the danger of filling as they pass, but notwithstanding the apparent difficulty a safe and easie passage may be had by a channell dug within land having locks placed in it by computation at the Expenditure of £800. The next obstacle is above Harpers ferry about a mile above the Spout, this tho in appearance not so formidable as the last, will be found on tryall by much the most expensive, requiring a channell Dug and wall'd along the Side of the River for at least half a mile with locks placed in it, at proper distances, to execute which in an effectual manner will require the Sum of Two Thousand Pounds. The next obstacle and last of any consequence, is at the head or beginning of what is called Shanadoah Falls, where there is already a natural channell, formed between the main and an Island which channell was formerly begun to be improved and partly dug but never compleated and now much choaked and filled up, which being cleared, the channell dug deeper and enlarged, and Dams and locks placed in it Vessels will pass through with readiness and safety To the Levell water above the Falls. this is computed might be done at an Expenditure of about £800. From thence to Fort Cumberland one hundred and thirty miles, and to a much greater distance up the North and South Branches, There is no very material obstruction but want of water over Shallow places when the River is low in autumn and the latter end of Summer, which in many places nay almost every part may be much improved at the expenditure of about £900 and following the same plan as is afterwards proposed, for clearing the Gravelly Shoals below Shanadoah Falls the greatest falls in this last distance called House's has already this summer been opened and cleared, and a passage made through it for the Transportation of Iron from Keep Triste Furnace to Antietam Forge.¹³ From Shanadoah downwards, such shallow places when the river is low

¹³ Antietam Forge, about four miles from Hagerstown, was built by Samuel and Daniel Hughes about 1770. James M. Swank, *History of the Manufacture of Iron in All Ages* (Philadelphia, 1892), pp. 254, 255. Keep Triste Furnace is not mentioned by name, but it may very well be one of those mentioned by place only by Swank or Bishop—J. L. Bishop, *A History of American Manufactures* (Philadelphia, 1866), vol. I., see index under *iron* in Maryland and in Virginia. Keep Tryst, or Sandy Hook, is in Washington County, Maryland, just above Harper's Ferry.

being all gravelly Shoals may be improved and made passible in any time of the year at a small expence and trouble, by adopting the plan by which severall rivers to the northward have been improved Viz. appointing overseers on the Shoals in the same manner as on public Roads, and allotting to them the Taxables contiguous and convenient to their respective Shoals to clear and make channels through them. The greater Stones being removed, the River woud in these places soon naturally wash itself into Such channells as woud thereafter require little or no assistance; This plan being followed and Fish and other Dams removed and every thing prevented for the future, that woud any ways hinder or prejudice the passage of Vessells up and down the River, which Dams and obstructions, our neighbouring Colony¹⁴ has wisely prohibited, will render it in a very short time readily passable att all times be the river high or low. As a farther Explanation and Proof to Show the great utility and advantage of this improvement, it may not be improper to annex a just State and cost of the difference of expence as it now is, of land and water carriage on a Ton of Iron from Keep Triste Furnace to Navigation; There being so great a difference from that place as the river now is unimproved, How much greater must it be to persons inhabiting higher up the country, in proportion to their greater distance and which wou'd be still greater if the above obstructions were removed that Vessells might pass from one end of the River to the other, without hindrance or Stoppage, a great part of the expences that now arises consisting in the frequent Stoppages, Portages, and different handling of the commodities of which very few will admitt. Was the above improvements made, any commodity whatever might be transported with Safety and ease at a small and reasonable Expence, from the highest landing to the lowest without shifting untill they were put ashore at the lowest landing intended.

Thus at the expence of £5000 the best channell is opened for inland trade that can be possibly had in British America. The land carriage between the bay of Chesapeak and the mouth of the Mississippi, The Illinois, three hundred miles up the Missouri and to the different lakes, by very small Portages is reduced to Seventy miles and in time may be reduced to a much Shorter distance, an acquisition by Oeconomy such as is in the power of few States to attain which we do not doubt will engage every Gentleman of public Spirit and Generous Sentiments, to foreward an Undertaking so generally and extensively usefull.

The Expence of transporting a Ton of Iron by land carriage From Keep Triste Furnace to Navigation is	<i>Pensa. Curr'y</i> £3. 15. 0
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The Expence of transporting a Ton of Iron down the River Potomack as it is now unimproved, to the little Falls is Viz

Portage from Keep triste furnace to Payne's landing, five miles, Half a days Journey of a Waggon at 12/6d. pr day the half is	£0. 6. 3
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From Paynes landing to Mr Ballendines Dam at Senecca

¹⁴ See *Laws of Maryland*, 1768, ch. 5. "An Act to prevent any obstruction of the Navigation in the river Potowmack". This reference, the references in Johnson's letter of June 18, 1770, and the mention of the clearance of House's Falls "this summer" seem to place the date of these observations as either summer or fall of 1769.

[*Endorsement:*] Mr Semple's proposals or Scheme for opening and extend'g the Inland Navig'n of Potomack with an acct. of the diff'e in the Expc. of Land and water carriage.

Whereas extending the Navigation of Potowmack River from the Great Falls of the said River up to Fort Cumberland will be of great benefit and advantage as well to the Inhabitants of the interior parts of the Colony as to the Public in General,

¹⁵ *Journals of the House of Burgesses, 1766-1769* (Richmond, 1906, ed. J. P. Kennedy), Dec. 5, 1769, "Ordered that Leave be given to bring in a Bill for clearing and making navigable the River Potowmack, from the great Falls of the said River, up to Fort Cumberland; and that Mr. Richard Henry Lee and Mr Washington do prepare and bring in the same". Read a first time on Dec. 8; read a second time on Dec. 13. On December 14, "Mr Richard Henry Lee reported from the Committee to whom the Bill . . . was committed that the Committee had gone through the Bill, and made several amendments thereunto which they had directed him to report to the House". Read twice and ordered engrossed. Nothing further appears to have been done with the bill. This attempt to open the Potomac route seems to have escaped the notice of Mrs. Bacon-Foster ("The Potomac Route to the West", in *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, XV.). As the draft of this bill found in the Minnesota collection is practically identical in terms with "An Act for clearing the Great Falls of James River", etc., passed in the session of October, 1765 (Hening, *Statutes at Large*, VIII. 148-150), except for the insertion of a provision respecting tolls, it is thought sufficient here to print only that additional provision.

Duty and he or they are hereby impowered to seize and detain any Vessel navigating the said River until the said Toll shall be paid. . . .

III. JOHN SEMPLE TO WASHINGTON.

OCCOQUAN ¹⁶ 8th. Jany 1770.

Sir

I am Sorry it is not convenient for you to take Iron for Mr. Kennedays Pork should my people have got It which is uncertain. when I came from the Furnaces I left directions with them to procure it If possible and which Mr Kenneday had promised me to be at the Furnace about that Week. Should they have got It would a Credite with Doctr. Ross ¹⁷ suit you.

I am greatly pleased to find you are so likely to Carry the point of Improveing Potowmack River ¹⁸ But the plan adopted on the footing of the Adventures being to be repaid with Interest from a Toll Will be lyable to a Great difficulty which I am afraid will prevent Its being accomplished. Money is not so plenty that Persons possessed of It are under any difficulty to let it out at Interest on the Terms of withdrawing and Commanding It when they please which would not be the case If Sunk in a plan of this kind attended with the greatest uncertainty when It might be Recoverable Which would prevent any Persons Sinking in It a Sum more than as a Gift of Charity He had given away and did not Expect to receive again which Scanty Methods I am afraid may not be Suficient to accomplish the End. On the footing of the Toll being made the property of the Adventurers as is the mode of all Such Publick undertakings in Britain and always allowed by Parliament In the makeing of either Turnpicke Roads in Land or Portable Cannalls by Water Upon Such a footing people would Subscribe freely and Sink considerable Sums in It on the Supposition of Settling It By way of Estate and Reaping in time considerable advantage from It Altho' at a distant Prospect On this footing the Adventurers would have the greatest encouragement that could be given them which would Induce them to continue It on to Tyde Water with Locks at the foot of what is called the Meadows below the Great falls. It is a thing not Improbable or Impossible Nor extremely difficult or Expensive nearly equal to the Utility of It to the Community And from thence I presume It may be continued past the Little falls to Tyde Water.

In the forming of the Law there is a point that ought to be guarded against That perhaps might not be attended to. Two of our Staple Commodities And which is Still more likely to be so for Exportation which is the Surest means of Inriching a Country And Counter Ballancing the Excessive Imports our necessity and Prodigality require Are Flower and Iron And which likewise in a Great measure is the Support of the Farmer Therefore all encouragement ought to be given By the Legislatures for the manufacturing of them And no place prevented from being Improved for these purposes that possibly can be made Serviceable towards that End. The places where Locks are required for the Navigation of Rivers Are Generally Such where the Waters Run strong by the height of the

¹⁶ Occoquan in Prince William County, Virginia.

¹⁷ See Bishop, *History of the Manufacture of Iron*. pp. 268, 269. for mention of Ross's iron works.

¹⁸ See the preceding document.

fall And which places are most Generally Commodious and proper for Works of that Nature And on Rivers capable of being Navigated most Advantageous By the great and Constant Supply of Water. Which places being capable of being Improved so as to Serve both purposes viz. the Navigation of the River And manufacturing these Commodities and so as the One may be made Subservient to the other and of no detriment to the Navigation The Proprietor ought not to be deprived of so valuable a part of property And so advantageous to the Community Many such Instances and Proofs of which I have in the Lands I possess which I propose to improve and which purpose I have secured Adjoining to them Great Quantities of Wood Land Ground which If I was deprived of using by these Improvements would be a great Burden to me But with Such Improvements of Great value to me and the Community. The Lands other ways than for Wood are of no Real value Mountainous and Stony and unfit for Agriculture Which hint in your Makeing of the Law I hope will and Pray may be attended to As otherwise great injustice may be done to Individuals Nay to the Community in preventing the Improvements of very valuable places in a maner not prejudicial to the Navigation of the River Nay such Improvements adjoined to Locks would be a Real Advantage to them By the constant Attention of those who possessed them to keep the Dams and Locks required to make the River Navigable in Repair. These things in the Law would be necessary to be Guarded against In case the Legislature thought proper to Incorporate the Adventurers into one Body or Company with a Power to cut through and make use of any mans Lands which might be the most prudent method under proper Managers. I am

Sir yr most Obt. hble Sert.

JOHN SEMPLE

[Endorsement:] From Mr. John Semple 8 Jan'y 1773.¹⁹

IV. THOMAS JOHNSON TO WASHINGTON.

Sir

I take the Liberty by the Revd. Mr. Boucher²⁰ who as well as others have assured me of your Friendship to the Inland Navigation on Potowmack to inclose you a Subscription Paper²¹ which is intended to be put about at our Frederick Court next week. I have with some though too few others²² lately taken a View of the River. from a little below Fort Frederick to Paynes Falls in our Voyage down we met with nothing of

¹⁹ The endorsement by Washington seems to be an error as to year, for Semple's heading is very legible, and the year is plainly 1770.

²⁰ Rev. Jonathan Boucher. See sketch in the *Dictionary of National Biography*; and index to S. M. Hamilton, *Letters to Washington* (Boston and New York, 1901), for many letters to Washington, especially those of Apr. 2, 1770, and Aug. 18, 1770. This letter by Johnson is that to which Washington's well-known letter of July 20, 1770, was the answer. Mrs. Bacon-Foster writes: "Our only knowledge of it [Johnson's plan] is from the following letter by Washington, which on account of its importance we will quote in full." *The Potomac Route to the West*, p. 111.

²¹ See the following document, no. V., which seems to be the paper in question.

²² See Semple's proposals.

any Consequence till we came to Catons Gutt what is called Houses Falls another Rift between that and Andietum and what is called Shepherds Falls a little below Shepherds Town being the only Obstructions and which might be easily removed at very small Expence. from Catons Gutt to Paynes Falls about 5 Miles Distance will we think be in prudence our present Object and 2500^l Pensylva. Currency it is thought by an Englishman in whom I have very great Confidence and a German who has been long employed in blowing Rocks will reduce Shannandore to allow a tolerable passage and make a towing Path. If we ever get through the Shannandore I need not remark that all the Force above may be easily drawn to a point at Seneca or any other Obstruction below which will admit of Improvement at a tolerable Expence. We choose to blow a Passage rather than attempt Navign. through Locks because the Falls no where appear too steep for Vessells to come down if they had but Room enough and this plan is the more eligible as it avoids a very strong Objection to Locks from the Freshes Ice etc. our Boat came through and we are satisfied loaded Battoes might with safety was there Room enough and a Channel deepened. I had the pleasure too to be fully satisfied there's no weight in a plausible Objection made some Time since²³ that deepning the Water where there are at present Ledges of Rocks would draw off the Water and occasion Shallows above for suppose about 20 or 30 Feet in width is deepned 2 Feet for Instance what Effect can it have on a Body of Water constantly supplied of 200 or 250 Yards width besides on actual sounding and I was attentive to the Circumstance I find the water deep above those Ledges no where as I recollect less than 5 Feet generally more and sometimes double that depth. but suppose the worst, Timber or Stone might easily be placed in other Breaks of the Ledge of Rocks so as to keep the Water to it's natural height by counteracting the new Draft in a new Obstruction. Should this mode of effecting the navigation be generally approved I am not unapprized that the Scheme of raising Money by Subscription is liable to Objection and I think with many that this River justly claims the Attention of the Legislatures of both Provinces. I sincerely wish they could be both brought into one generous and grand Scheme and am sure that the vast addition to Trade would soon repay almost any Expence but I fancy you and I are too well acquainted with the Difficulties of carrying points of Consequence through the three Branches of one Legisl. to entertain Expectations that both Legislatures will soon concur circumstantially in the same Scheme for clearing Potowmack. If any Thing should be given in Maryland in a public Way a Subscription will certainly be an essential Condition and from what I have understood in Virginia the plan of a Corporation Subscription of Shares and tolls would be the most agreeable there. A great many of the interested in Maryland are willing to put their Hands into their own pockets at once and I believe the Germans of whom we have numbers in good Circumstances are much disposed to it so that if the people of your side can be brought to do their just part, I do not mean an Arithmetical exactness, I flatter myself the Thing is well within our power and that a considerable part may still be done this year.—To convince people of the immediate advantages to themselves I make this Estimate.

²³ Another reference is made to this objection in the subscription paper; see *infra*, no. V.

Land Carriage 80 miles at 1/ Pensylva. Curry. per Mile per Ton on 38 Bushels of Wheat is	4. 0.0
From Paynes Falls to Shannandore Semple now gives for Water Carr'e per Ton	8.0
from the Mo. of Connegocheage to Paynes about the same Distance suppose the like	8.0
Land Carriage from Seneca to the little Falls 12 or 14 Miles say 14	14.0
	<hr/> 1. 10.0
saved by Water Carriage except the small Expense of Carriage from the little Falls to Geo. Town or Bell- haven ²⁴ on each Ton	<hr/> 2. 10.0

but what has weight with some though not enough are the future advantages which you can much better than I can form an Idea of in making Poto. the Channel of Conveyance and Connection between the new Country westward and Britain.

If you Sr. should approve the Scheme of a Subscription and think any Thing can be done that way in Virginia it will give us new Spirits on this Side, if not I shall be greatly obliged by your communicating your Thoughts on the Subject.

When I had the pleasure of seeing you at the Springs last Summer I mentioned that my Brother²⁵ had obtained the Secret of curing fits by simples he had several people under his Care who have been happily relieved. the cure was much slower than he expected and indeed he once began to think that he had been deceived but he is now fully satisfied of the salutary Effects of the Medicine which has been considerably improved lately, from his own actual Experiment on several Subjects and if, which I shall indeed be sorry to hear, the young Lady has as yet met with no Relief, I shall procure and send you some with proper Directions. Mrs. Washington may be assured that no ill Consequences will follow from it.

I am sr. With great Regard

Your most obedt. hble Servt.

THS. JOHNSON Esqr

ANNAPO. 18 June 1770.

[*Endorsement:*] Letter and Proposals from Thos. Johnson Esqr Annapolis—18 June 1770 respect'g the Inland Navig'n of Pot'k.

V. MARYLAND SUBSCRIPTION PAPER.²⁶

Will the Landholders on the navigable Waters be benefited by a cheap and easy Carriage from the Back parts of the Country? if they will it may naturally be expected they will promote easy Carriage if not though the Community would be benifited *as an intire Body* an extraordinary Exertion of the people below in favour of Carriage would be a rare Exercise of Virtue.

²⁴ Belhaven; an old name for Alexandria.

²⁵ Dr. John Johnson, a physician of Annapolis. See his letter of Mar. 21, 1772, to Mrs. Washington regarding Patsy Custis, daughter of Mrs. Washington, who died June 19, 1773. *Letters to Washington*, IV, 119.

²⁶ It is possible that this document is the subscription paper which Johnson mentions in his letter of June 18, 1770. The handwriting is obviously Johnson's and both documents mention the objection which had been made by certain persons to the construction of locks at the Falls.

There is no Demand for Tobacco beyond the ordinary Consumption. the [Force?] of Maryland and Virga. exclusive of what is made in Carolina is more than sufficient to produce in Common Years the necessary Quantity—superior or better executed Regulations will give Advantages over Rivals but the price depending much more on the Quantity the violent policy of the Dutch with regard to Spice if no better could be adopted to lessen the Quantity would be good with respect to Tobacco but the same End may be better answered by diverting a part of the [Force?] of both provinces another way.

What Quantity of American wheat might be disposed of in the European markets it is impossible to say. the whole Export but a few Years ago was very inconsiderable and yet in a Time of Peace the Demand increases faster than the very rapid increase of Quantity indubitably proved by the rising of the price and it is likely to keep pace with any Increase of wheat raised in America. the Arbitrary Governments in the possible countries is very inimical to high cultivation many parts of them have relied and from the Soil and Climate will rely chiefly on a foreign supply. vines and Fruits engage their Care in preference of Bread Corn and turn more profit to the Individual. England used to feed her Neighbours. her internal produce now of Flesh Meat Bread Corn and Horse-meat is not equal to her consumption of those Articles. the Deficiency daily grows greater. The Humour and immediate Interest of the Landholders is to turn their arable into pasture Lands by which the produce of Bread Corn is not only diminished but by driving the Tenants and their Children into the Towns to look for Employment the Consumption of flesh meat and wheaten Bread is still increased. The Landholders in England have too much to say in making Laws to suffer any regulation to take place either to increase the internal Supply of Bread or lessen the Expence of Flesh meat by substituting Fish, as was done in Eliza's Time, in it's stead. The present supply from America is very inconsiderable when compared to the whole Consumptn. of Wheat in Europe. In London only the whole Consumptn. amounts yearly perhaps to 15 Millions of Bushels of Wheat. If G Britain could raise a Sufficiency of Flesh Meat and Bread Corn or be supplied with a considerable part of the Latter from her Colonies at her Option it would seem as if she had better be partly supplied from her Colonies. the Colonies will take off the British Manufactures in propn. to their Ability to pay for them. if the Colonies are not able to pay for the necessary Quantity they must manufacture for themselves the Difference between what is necessary and what they can pay for. suppose that Difference at any given Sum so far Manufactures in Brit. are useless. If the Profits of Cultivation in America are greater than on manufacturing there, the Americans will continue to clear and cultivate the Lands rather than manufacture. every Increase of the People in America increases the Demand for British Manufactures and consequently affords means of Subsist'ce for the greater number of people in Britain. this would strengthen Brit. and her Colonies as a people and especially as a Maritime State for the additional Number of Sailors employed especially as they would be at Home at least twice a year might occasionally very much strengthen the Navy—and if the Security and Happiness of America is in the Strength of Britain we had better forego manufacturing for which we are not yet ripe and clear and cultivate our Lands if we can dispose of the Produce to Advantage. If the American

Supply of Wheat is inconsiderable when compared to the Consumption of Wheat in Europe as it certainly is and if the Demand is likely, from a decrease in the Quantity raised in Europe, fully in proportion to the increase of Quantity raised in America, to keep up we had best divert our people as far as we can from raising Tobacco to the raising of wheat. too much Tobacco may certainly be and often has been raised but it is not only likely that America cannot raise too much Wheat but probably the price of her wheat will even rise with the Quantity. it has done so hitherto and may do so for 100 years to come by which Time we shall be populous enough to enter on other Views.

If an Increase of the Quantity of Wheat is desirable rather than an Increase of the Quantity of Tobacco the only Method to induce the Back-people to cultivate Wheat for which their Land generally is the most suitable rather than Tobacco is to reduce as much as maybe the Expence of Carriage. 2 Hhds of Tobacco weigh say one Ton or 20 gross Hundred and will sell for 12 Sterl equal to 20 Curr'y. 30 Bushels of Wheat is about the same weight and sells say at 6/ PB.²⁷ a Ton of wheat produces 10.8. on any given price of Carra. the Difference of the Value of the Produce is nearly as two to one in favr. of bringing Tobacco to Market rather than Wheat. the higher the price of Carriage the greater the Difference of nett value after deducting the Expence of Carriage. If from the Distance as from Fred Town for Instance the Expence of Carra. is 2/ p B. or worse from Andietem or Connegocheage 2/ 6 p B. the net produce of the Tobo. being greater in Proportion than on wheat the Motive according to the Distance grows stronger to raise Tobacco instead of wheat—and so if the price of Wheat should fall and Tobacco rise cheap Carriage will be still the more necessary towards continuing the Back people Farmers.

The Expence of Water Carriage when compared to that of Land Carriage is not more than as one to four perhaps not so much on those of the Back parts of Potowmack which are at present navigable. Potowmack is naviga. at present for Battoes from Seneca to Paynes the lowest part of the Shann. Falls abt 45 miles by water—from Semples—except a trifling place or two between that and Andietem to Fort Cumberland about 140 or 150 miles by water. Monocasy Connegocheage the So. Branch and patterson Cr. are all at Times and most of them generally capable of navigation for considerable Distances and some of them go off almost at right Angles from the River—hence an Improvemt. of Water Carriage by opening the Shann Falls taking off the Land Carriage below Seneca or shortning it and improving the Roads to Navign. would be very extensively beneficial. Mr. Semple had water Carr'e from paynes to Seneca for 7/ 6 p Ton on wheat it would be 3 d. p B. Jacques and Johnson²⁸ have Carriage from their Forge to Cussapi abt. 75 Miles by Water ag't the Stream for 30/ a Ton. they have had Corn collected about the Mouth of the So. Br. and carried to their works for 4 d p B.— The Carriage upwards to Fort Cumberland to satisfy the Demand for the Back Country would be equal to the demand for Carr'e downwards from thence wherefore and as there would be but one Loading and unloading the Carr. down may not be expected to exceed 6 d p B. as far as the Mouth of Seneca—

²⁷ Per bushel.

²⁸ See in Bishop, *The Manufacture of Iron*, p. 254, reference to Green Spring furnace and Licking Creek forge owned by Jacques and Johnson.

from the Vale of Connege. not more than 4 d. or 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ —from below payne's not more than 3 d. If Land Carr: from Seneca a Waggon would be two Days in going down and up it being abt 20 Miles—at 15/ a Day (two thirds of the whole Carr. being allowed to rest on the produce brought down) the Expence would be 20/ on a Load 30 B. of wheat or 6 $\frac{1}{3}$ p B. If a Canal could be constructed to take off such a part of the Distance only that the Waggon might return the same Day it would reduce the Land Carr. one half at least and consequently the Expence inclusive of that on the Canal to at most 4 d p B.—so that even from F. Cumberland the whole Exp. to navigable water might not probably exceed 10 d p B. If the Road from F Cumberland to the Westn. Waters can be made *good* and brought under 50 Miles a Waggon may perform a Trip in 4 Days at 15/ a day £ 3. 38 B. brought and as much salt carried back 76 B., brings it to about 9 d p B.—say 1/ to F Cumberland and 1/ afterwards. it would bring the Yough. as near to Market as Fred Town is at present. What an Increase of Shipping would such Improvements occasion what a rise in Value of the Lands in Conn[oecheague] which are said to produce upwards of 20 B. to the Acre. we might spare one half our present number of Horses or make the present number about doubly useful. we Should be strengthened in Harvest with the Labour of the Battoomen they would too assist in Winter in clearing our Lands. We might thus greatly increase our Export of wheat gently lead our people off from Tobacco at least in due proportion as well as render a vast Extent of Back Country useful to Trade but if the present method of Carriage continues it will then as it does now take at least 4 good Horses to carry the produce in Wheat of the Labour of two to Market from Connogchege. 2 Horses can put in 30 acres very well, besides rye and oats suffn. for their own Maint'ce, at 19 B. P[er] A[cre] 570 Bushels at 38 Bushels to the Load 15 Loads or at the Rate of 30 Loads for two Horses. is it to be wondered at that so many Horses being killed in going to Market most of them being so much injured by long Services in the worst of weather the price of Horses should have risen 50 p C. or more or that the new Crop comes in before the old is carried to Market.

The Europeans have grown fond of our flour. we ought to improve on the Circumstance even so far if possible as to occasion a Discontin'ce of their Mills for we should thus not only gain the profit of manufacturing that essential article and make a further Demand for Labour in Cash but become one Step more necessary to their Subsist'ce. The River Carr'e would promote milling; in the winter there's a plenty of water at all the Mills. the flour ground in Winter is best for Exporta. the Brand of that then ground may be fed away profitably to Stock whilst it is sweet and nourishing. the Brand of that ground in Summer grows musty and is spoiled before Stock, other than Hogs, has the least Occasion for it. the Spring is a very proper Time to export Flour; from Mar. till May inclusive, the Water on the River is the best when any Quantity may be brought down so that our Wheat might by the Assist'ce of water Carr'e be shipped chiefly in Flour earlier than generally it is now chiefly or at least great part in Wheat. In the Spring the Roads are very soft and in many places Springy so that it is unfavourable for Wagonning and besides the Horses are generally employed in April, if the weather is good, and part of May in putting in a Spring Crop.

From the great Cost as we have heard of some of the Canals in Europe we are deterred from over estimating the Expense of any Improvemt. of

the Kind and fancying ourselves not equal to such Undertakings. To cut a Canal sufft. for our purpose *if the Ground is favourable* would not exceed the power of many Individuals. Suppose the given Distance 10 Miles, 12 feet at top 8 feet at Bottom so that the mean Breadth would be 10 feet and 3 feet deep would perhaps be sufft. for a Boat of 1000 Bushels Burthen.

Length 10 Miles or multiply by the mean Breadth	52,800 feet 10
	<hr/>
	528,000
the product by the depth	3
	<hr/>
	1,584,000 Square feet.

If a Labourer cuts only 50 Feet in Length 4 feet wide and 6 Inches deep p day he then cuts 100 sq. Feet a Day the Work will require 15,840 Days Labour which a. 3/ p day would cost for Labourers 2376
suppose for Tools 100
Overseers 200
2 small Locks to fall 3 or 4 feet 200
5 [Wastes ?] at 10¢ 100
priviledge of Land say 500

3426 £
[3476]

To gain 3 feet depth of water in almost any Ground the Cut on the Upper Side of the Hill or Rising must frequently be more than 3 feet deep but by paring away the Soil beyond the Line of the Cut on the lower Side and throwing Clay to Clay it might be depended on against a little weight of water and often make it unnecessary to go so deep as 3 feet. Say 25 working Days to the month 80 Labourers would do the work in 8 months. The Expense might be lessened by buying about one half the whole number of Labourers imported Servants who had been used to Spades and picks they wd. do much more of this Kind of Work than negroes and might be sold again at the end of 8 months for or nearly for their original Cost. But say there can be no Saving add which is often necessary on Calculations 25 p Ct. and then for the Sake of Caution Ct. p Ct. Suppose three Times the Distance is necessary and therefore three Times the greatest Sum may be necessary what is there still to frighten provinces.

A Square Foot of Water weighing about 60 lbs. about equal to the Weight of one Bushel of Wheat. A Boat 85 feet long 8 feet broad for that Distance (and for a Canal she might be made as long as the winding of the Canal would allow and as full as possible at the Ends) sunk 20 Inches by her Lading would exclude about 1066 Sq Feet of Water and consequently carry about so many Bushels of Wheat. two Hands would manage her with great Ease on dead water.

A River Battoe must be of a very difft. Construction. perhaps there's not one on the River made as it ought to be. one of 60 feet may not carry her Breadth, of 7 feet and an half at most, more than 40 feet. she ought to have a fine Rake rise perhaps an Inch in a foot from a Line with the

Keel for 10 feet to her Ends her Ends at the Water as sharp as possible and gradually spreading in a [nice?] twist towards the top of the Stern (there's a Difficulty in communicating the Idea from an Ignorance of the Terms of Art) so that she might be lifted as it were by an extraordinary pressure of water and would consequently push up the lighter in Sharp Water as well as come down difficult places loaded with more safety. such a Boat drawing the same water as the Canal Boat would carry abt. 500 B. and must be worked by 5 good Hands.

From the Flat water by Semples to the Back water in the lower part of Catons Gut about 50 ps show's 10 1/2 Foot Fall by much the quickest from and soon after the Entrance into the upper part of the Gut. suppose an Entrance 2 1/2 feet deep is made into the Gut it takes off something in the most necessary part. why might not 3 or 4 feet be again taken off by a low River Lock the sides made of [rough?] Loggs well pinned together or bolted with Iron Bolts filled in with large Stones of which there's such plenty at Hand in the same Manner as Stone Dams. when there's any Danger from Ice or Trees the Water would gen'ly if not always be over the Lock and Ice and Trees would probably pass over without touching. if its's feared they would not to prevent their hanging the Lock might in the Fall be filled with Stones and no great Labour to clear it out in the Spring. two such Locks 4 Feet each would certainly do the Business or perhaps of 3 feet or perhaps one might do. If a Stone Towing path was built which might be done for 3 or 400 £ and large Iron pins with broad Heads fixt in the Rocks at proper Distances, around which occasionally to take a turn of a long strong pointer by which one Hand might hold on and gently rase off in going down or in coming up hold on what three of the other Hands gained in pulling leaving one Hand in the Boat to keep her off from the Sides with a light Setting-pole it seems likely five Hands would carry such a Boat through any water in which she could swim. the same Method if successful there might be taken at the Spout except a Lock for which there could be no Occasion. there's no other place in the Shann Falls but where the Hands might if the water was deepen'd set a Boat up with their poles. An unlucky Objection was started some years ago against opening a Channel through the Rifts of Rocks, supposing the Water would be thereby drawn off and make new Shallows or even expose Rocks above. the Idea was formed without any consideration of the Vastness of the Body of Water in potowmack or even perhaps a Knowledge that that there are many spaces in those Rifts of Rocks through which great Quantities of Water now pass or that the Water is deeper just above and below those Ledges of Rocks than common elsewhere in the River, yet after all admit the Objection in its full Force that cutting a Channel of 30, 40, 50 or 60 Feet wide 2 1/2 feet deep will too suddenly draw off a Body perhaps 150 yds wide so amply supplied, the Evil may be easily remedied by only sinking a few Cutts of Timber to obstruct the passage of the water in the other Spaces where it now passes and thus at very small Cost reduce the then to the present Expende of Water by which the River above will undoubtedly continue it's old Depth.

[The next paper, in Johnson's handwriting, is section 27 of chapter 26 of the Maryland Laws of 1773, *An Act for emitting Bills of Credit and applying Part thereof*. This section appropriates money for clearing and keeping in good order a wagon road from Fort

Cumberland "to the nearest Battoe navigable water on the western Side of the Allegany Mountain". Johnson was made one of seven supervisors of the road.]

VI. ANONYMOUS REMARKS.

*To A Member of the Present Assembly Now siting at Annapolis*²⁹

Sir. Having accidentally heard it mentioned that a scheme³⁰ was in agitation, to Render Potomack River Navigable from within about Twelve or Fourteen Miles of George Town, up thro the Seneca Rapids, or falls, and tho my Small Acquaintance with that River, Together with my Inexperience with Undertakings of this Nature may prevent me from treating this Subject to the purpose, or pronouncing to what Degree of perfection the Navigation may be carried in this River, Yet prepossessed with the opinion, that it is Certainly practicable, to Such a Degree, so as to be of Infinite Service to the Community, and also of opinion, that we are in our present state full able to Accomplish it so far, provided it is Conducted with any Tolerable degree of Unanimity and Judgment; and the money which may be Raised or Contributed for that purpose disposed of with frugality and Discretion; the fear that this may Not be the Case, or that the Scheme may miscarry from attempting too much at first, has Induced me to trouble you.

Undertakings of this Nature in any Country are found to be both Tediumous and Expensive, but in this New Country it will be found to be more particularly so; as we must Labour under and meet with many additional Difficulties, which Nothing can enable us to surmount, but a steady perseverance, and the most Rigid Oeconomy, together with using every possible precaution, to prevent our undertaking whatever may be either Deemed Unnecessary, or above our abilities to go thro with. may I not be Excusable for hinting this admonition, when I consider how Easily we are Lead without any Investigation to adopt every Scheme offered to the publick, of which a subscription paper³¹ lately handed about by a Certain person, is a Recent Instance. There also, permit me to observe, that their are some Circumstances which Induce me to entertain some Doubts, whether the money which I hear is to be appropriated for the purpose, of making a Road over the allegany mountains³² can be so properly Laid out at present, as it may some time hence. I have not seen the Bill, and my situation is such as to prevent me from being Inform'd particularly concerning its Contents, However I learn that the Commissioners appointed to Lay off the Road, are by it Limited to begin at Fort Cumberland, and to proceed the best and Nearest way to Navegable Water on the Monongahela. No person presumes to doubt the Good Intention of the Framers of this Bill, but perhaps the place Directed by the Law (if they are Confined to a perticular place) may be Discovered to be Improper. We have as yet

²⁹ Probably written to Johnson.

³⁰ See Pickell, *A New Chapter in the Early Life of Washington* (New York, 1856), p. 29; and "The Life of Thomas Johnson", in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XV. 30-32.

³¹ Probably Ballendine's subscription paper. See *The Potomac Route to the West*, pp. 118, 119.

³² The act referred to above, "An Act for emitting Bills of Credit and applying Part thereof".

but little knowledge of that part of the Country; the Commissioners appointed to make out the Road I am Informed have little or none. It is possible upon a more Intimate knowledge of these parts, that a place more Convenient than that Directed by the Bill may be Discovered. At any rate it seems like beginning at the wrong End, for no place can with propriety be fixed upon for the road to set out from, till it is ascertained how High up Potomack River, is capable of being made Navegable. From what Enquiries I have made, together with the Little knowledge which I have of that part of the Country and River, I may Venture to affirm that upon a survey, it will be found to be as Easy to Continue the Navigation for a Considerable Distance (at Least Twenty Miles) above Cumberland, as it will be to make it Navigable below; above Cumberland the River is far from being so wide as below. In the Summer and Fall it Receives but little or no Supply from Wills Creek, therefore in these Seasons it will be found to have more Water a few miles above, than it appears to have below, and as the River is so much Narrower above, the Water is Deeper, and wherever it may be Requisite to Confine the water, it will from the same Cause (I mean the Contiguity of its Banks) be easier accomplished; if therefore the navigation can be Continued so far above Cumberland, it is probably that a shorter Land Communication with the Monongahela may be Discovered than by a road to Start from Cumberland. I take it not upon me to say Certainly that this may be the Case; I am not so well acquainted with the Country as to affirm it; But as the River Continues its Course about South West and breaks Into the allegany mountains and Runs up opposite to where Cheat on the West Side, a principal Fork of the Monongahela, forms a Considerable river, it is not Improbably and therefore worth Enquiring into whether a Communication Between the two Rivers may not be Accomplished by a Carrying place of Thirty or at most of Forty miles. I should also Deem a Carrying place here full as Convenient, as if it led Directly to Pitt, for the Monongahela (the Current of which is Gentle as Tide water) and the Conaway³³ Rivers when they are Navigable are not more than Twelve or Fifteen Miles, and a good Level Country assunder, a much readier and Easier Communication would be opened to the Inhabitants on that Extensive River, as well as to the Inhabitants on the Ohio. But we leave these Schemes at Least for the present in Speculation and Return to the Design more Imeadeatly under Consideration. the Step which appears Requisite to be first taken is to obtain an Accurate Survey of the River from the most Convenient Landing above the Great Falls up to Cumberland, and Indeed Higher, in which the Fall of the River ought to be Carefully Laid down with the Depths of Water and particularly marking such Rapids as may appear to stand in Need of being either made Deeper or the Current Lessened. From this plan or profile some Judgment may be form'd with a tollerable degree of Certainty how far it may be prudent to undertake and tho I much fear from a survey that the fall will be found to be too Great to admit of being made Navegable for Vessells of Considerable burthen, Yet if it can be Completed so as to admit of Vessells Carrying from Ten to Fifteen Ton with the Stream, it will be accomplishing an object of Great moment. the Dificulty of Erecting Locks and the Uncertainty of maintaining them in the bed of Large Rivers are found to be Extreemly precarious, and often times the end not answered, which Demonstrates that works of that

³³ Kanawha.

Nature ought not to be undertaken till after the most mature Consideration, and I believe that there are very few situations on potomack where the River and the Ground together will admit of the Water to be taken out with any Degree of safety. Where Undertakings of this Nature have been attempted in England, Experience has Demonstrated how Difficult and uncertain it is to make and to Keep a River Navegable in its original Bed, where the Fall is Considerable; when this is the Case Locks are found to be Requisite to Compleat the Navigation and they seldom can be placed in such a Situation as not to be Exposed to the Danger of Floods, and Even when they can be Erected Either from their Strength or Situation as to stand the Shock, yet there is a Certain Inconvenience which Constantly attends works of this sort, where they are Erected in the bed of Rivers which is that the Strength and Rapidity of the Water in time of Floods encreased by the fall over the Locks will Constantly Raise the stones and gravel at some Distance below, Where of Consequence it forms a shallow and a Rapid; from these and some other Reasons it is, that wherever the nature of the Ground is such as to admit of a Cannall it is Deemed preferable, (tho at first, perhaps the most Expensive), as the Safest and certainest navigation. It is probable However that many of the Inconveniences to which these kind of Works Erected in the bed of Rivers are Subject, May be owing to the badness of the Bottoms, and I am apt to believe that this may be the Case, with most of the Rivers in England, at Least in those where they have failed in attempting to emprove their navigation. They chiefly are found to run over Clay or Marl covered with Stones and Gravel; a Bottom of this Nature will perpetually shift, upon every little alteration of the Course, or addition of the Fall. It may be otherwise with the bed of potomack, which for the most part I conjecture to run over a rock, at Least it will be found so in such places where it may be Necessary to Erect any work, and was it found to be Requisite I flatter my self that a lock might be constructed upon the shanandore Falls in such a manner as to stand the shock of the Flood but I am of opinion, that even here a safe Passage may be Accomplished for Vessells of the Burthen mentioned without the Necessity of Erecting any work of that Nature. But it is time to Leave this subject till a more Certain Knowledge of the River is obtained when it can be more properly Canvassed. The Conveniences attending water Carriage are so obvious, that I have thought it unnecessary to enumerate them as arguments in favour of this scheme. However there are some peculiar Circumstances attending the success of this Undertaking, which ought in my opinion to Render it an object of publick attention. The Vast Country that Lies on the waters of that Extensive River in Virginia and Even some parts of Penselvania, by means of Monocasy, Shanandore Conegocheague and the South Branch would have an Easy Communication into potomack, for I apprehend them to be such Considerable Rivers as to admit of being made Navegable a great way up them, but when we consider Potomack as the principal Chanell of Communication with the Extensive Countrys on the Western Waters it becomes an object of still more Genreal Concern, and if found practicable will I make no Doubt, meet not only with the Continuance but the assistance of the Legislature of both Colonies.

[*Endorsement:*] Anonymous Remarks of the Poto. Navign.—1774

VII. RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING BALLENDINE'S SCHEME.

At a meeting of several of the Trustees (named in Mr John Ballendine's Proposals for making Potomac River Navigable)³⁴

At Frederick Town the 16th Day of November 1774

Declared that it is the Opinion of the Trustees present that John Ballendine hath, on his Part, complied with the Terms and Conditions of the former Subscriptions made in his Favor for his encouragement to go to Europe and qualify himself to undertake the rendering of Potomac River Navigable and that therefore such Subscription Money ought to be Paid, and it is recommended by the Trustees present that Mr. Ballendine make his next beginning to remove the Obstructions in Potomac at the Shanandoah Falls and proceed down the River as soon as the Season of the year will permit which he has promised to do—but that he continue to carry on the Work he has already begun at the lower Falls as a great part of the cutting may be done the ensuing Winter.

Recommended that a Meeting of the Trustees be held at George Town on Thursday the first Day of December next³⁵ and that notice of such Meeting be as publickly and generally given as may be

Recommended that Robert Peter, Thomas Richardson, Thomas Johns, William Deakins Junr and Adam Stewart of Maryland with an equal Number of Trustees residing in Virginia at the said Meeting of George Town be appointed a Subcommittee according to Mr. Ballendines late Proposals and that a Convenient number of them have Power to Act.³⁶

WILLIAM DEAKINS JUN	C. BEATTY	THO JOHNSON JR
THOMAS JOHNS	JONATHAN HEGER ³⁷	THOS. CRESAP
RICHARD THOMPSON	JOHN CARY	JOHN STULL ³⁸
	ADAM STEWART	JOHN HANSON JUNR
	WM. BEATTY	THO RICHARDSON
		JACOB YOUNG
		DAN HUGHES

(Copy Exd)

VIII. HEADS OF AN ACT.

Heads of an Act for Raising the Sum of 50,000 for the more Effectual Carrying Mr Ballantynes plan of Extending the Navigation of Potomack River into Execution etc etc etc³⁹

³⁴ On May 8, 1772, Ballendine had secured from prominent men in both colonies a testimonial of their confidence in his integrity and ability, and subscriptions to a fund to enable him to go to Great Britain to examine canals, locks, etc. In September, 1774, he announced in the *Maryland Gazette* that he was just back from Europe with engineers and artificers to open the Potomac. On Oct. 10 a meeting of prominent men of both colonies was held at Georgetown and subscriptions made to aid him in his project. *The Potomac Route to the West*, pp. 117-123. For the announcement made by him in the *Maryland Gazette* of Oct. 25, 1774, giving a list of the trustees, see *ibid.*, p. 121.

³⁵ For an account of this meeting see *ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Hagar* in the *Maryland Gazette*. These names are not original signatures, but are in the same handwriting as the rest of the document.

³⁸ *Stall* in the *Maryland Gazette*.

³⁹ For Ballendine's plan see notes 12 and 34. These remarks were written

Remarks

Whereas and so on—Be it Enacted etc.

That the said Sum of £ 50,000 be divided into 500 Shares of £ 100 Each, and that Every such Share may be transferd or sold at the future Option of Each Subscriber to such Share.

That Books be opened at the Several places herein after named viz. Williamsburg, Norfolk, Dumfries, Fredericksburg, Alexandria and Winchester in Virginia, Annapolis, Marlborough, Bladensburg, George Town, Frederic Town and Hagars Town in Maryland.

to receive the Names of Each Subscriber and of the Sum which is intended to be subscribed, and Notice thereof given in the Newspapers of each province.

That at the Expiration of 3 months after such Subscription Books are opened, a Meeting of the following Gentn. or any 5 of them be held at Alexandria to consider the State of the said Subscriptions Viz

That if it should appear that a larger Sum than what is intended to be raised by this Act is subscribed, it may be in the power of the Gentn. above named, to omit as many of the smaller Subscriptions as may be found necessary, and as far as the said Subscriptions may fall short of the said intended Sum, then the Gentn. above named may be impowered to borrow or raise the same by Lottery as to them may appear most beneficial for the purpose.

That provided the Sum of £ 30,000 be subscribed at the time of said Meeting at Alexandria as aforesaid, a Deposit of 10 p Ct shall then be made by Each Subscriber to assist the Undertaking, bearing Interest from the Date of Each payment, provided the whole Sum is subscribed, a Deposit of 7 1/2 P Ct. be adopted on the whole, as aforesaid.

That in Case any Neglect may arise in the future payment of any Call of so much p Ct. on the Subscribers as the Trustees or Directors hereafter to be appointed may deem necessary, after — Days Notice given in Writing, then the former Deposits are forfeited and made void and the said Trustees or Directors may dispose of the said Share or Shares at public Sale giving Notice accordingly, the profit arising to be applyd to the General Fund.

That Until the Subscription be completed the Gentlemen afore named may continue to act, and are impower'd to appoint whom of the Subscribers they think proper to superintend the progress of the Undertaking and the Expenditure of the Money, but as soon as the Subscription is filled, immediate Notice shall be given in the papers of Virga. and Maryland that a General Meeting of the Subscribers will be held at A—— or G on the 2d Wed. in the Ensuing Month, to Elect by Ballot 12 Trustees or Directors to continue 2 or 3 Years as the Majority shall then determine; fixing on a future Day for the Choice of New Ones. These Trustees may be sworn or not and shall be impowered to Conduct the whole Business of fixing the several Rates of Toll, settling the Wages of

by Washington, and may be based on the bill referred to in the *Journal of the House of Burgesses*, June 14, 1775, as "the Bill for raising a Capital fund of forty thousand pounds by subscription, and establishing a Company for opening and extending the navigation of the River Potowmack". Other references to the bill may be found under dates of June 15 and June 21, 1775. It was passed by both houses but is not found in Hening.

the latter to give Security and to settle the Annual Divid. These Trustees to meet alternately at A and G on the first in Every Month or oftner, as they shall deem necessary, not fewer than 5 to make a Committee, subject to no other allowance than a moderate Expende at Each Meeting, these Trustees to give an Acct. of the State of the Undertaking at a General Meeting whenever called upon by 12 Subscribers, and at the Annual General Meeting which shall be held at on Day of

No person shall be intitled to vote at the Election of Trustees or Direct. unless possessed of 3 Shares, nor shall any Trustee act as such unless possessed of 5 Shares.

That a Dividend be made if possible twice a year and notice of the Time and Rate be given in the papers, and to be made at no Expende to the Subscribers Except that of sending to Receive it.

That at Every General Meeting Except for the Election of Trustees, Every Subscriber indiscriminately has a Liberty of Voting. *Quaere*: Whether it is necessary that Every Subscriber should be allowed as many Votes as Shares? I know of no Instances of the Kind in England.

That if the Interest arising from the Tolls as first fixed in an Equitable and proportionate Degree, should amount to more than a Dividend of 12 or suppose 15 p Ct. then it may be in the power of the Trustees (to prevent any Suspicion of Extortion or Monopoly,) to reduce the Rate of Toll, so as Reserving an Adequate Supply for Accidental Repairs, the Dividend may continue at such stated Rate.

[*Endorsement*:] Heads of an Act for opening the navigation of the River Potomac.

[The next document is a schedule, in Washington's handwriting, of Ballendine's proposed toll-rates, embracing both Potomac and James. These rates may have been used in preparing the tables which accompany the acts of 1784 for incorporating the Potomac and James River companies; Hening, XI. 456, 517, 518. Washington's comments on those acts, no. XIII., *post*, are written on the same sheet as this schedule, not here printed.]

IX. ESTIMATE OF EXPENSE, JAMES RIVER.

*An Estimate of the expense in removing the obstructions in James River, and for extending the Navigation about 200 Miles above the Falls.*⁴⁰

	£ Virg C'y
From the tide Water at Richmond up to Westham is about 6	
miles, in this distance there is 73 feet fall, which will re-	6
quire 7 Locks, estimated at £ 800 stg each	5600

⁴⁰ The date of this estimate is uncertain, but judging from Washington's remark to Thomas Jefferson, in his letter of Mar. 29, 1784, it would seem to be about 1774: "To get this business [navigation of Potomac River] in motion, I was obliged even upon that ground to comprehend James River, in order to remove the jealousies, which arose from the attempt to extend the navigation of the Potomac." Sparks, IX. 30. The manuscript affords an unusually good example of Washington's most characteristic style of handwriting.

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Extra expence in the first lock for sinking and extending the same, so as to admit Barges or Rafts 100 feet long, 16 feet wide, and 4 deep	400
Extra expence in cutting a streight canal frm. the river side up into the first lock 4 ft. deep	500
Extra expence in the upper Lock at Westham to turn and raise the Water by a Suffict. Dam	1200
Extra expence in a side Work from the said Lock, laid with stone sufficient to secure the Canal from Freshes	800
As the Falls betwn. Westham and Shockoes, or Richmond, is too rapid for the river navigation it is considered to make a level cut along the side of the river from Westham to the Warehouses near Tide Water, the same to be made 30 feet wide and 4 feet deep estimated at £ 25 Stg. pr. mile	6000
For spreading the Earth etc. on the lower side of the Canal for a road etc. to track up with Horses at £ 25 pr. Mile	150
From Westham to the Seven Islands is 80 miles by Water, the loose stones to remove in many places in that distance and shoals to deepen for a clear passage.	750
The track for horses along the river side the above distance and large trees to cut and clear at £ 25 pr. mile	2000
The Falls at the Seven Islands are about five miles long, much like the Shanondoah falls in Potomack, which will not require more than 2 river locks	800
Clearing and removing the rocks in the Rivr. the same distance for a safe passage estimd	1200
The track for horses all the way must be laid with large stone secure from freshes etc.	2300
From the Seven Islands up the said river navigation thro' the bleu ridge is about 100 miles as the river runs, in this distance no sudden falls, only the stones to remove and some shoals to deepen for a safe passage	2500
The track for horses the same distance at £ 25 pr. Mile	2500
Extra Expence for 2 River Locks	800
Extra Expence for a pavement of Stone abt. 2 Miles thro the ridge	1000
The River Navigation still continuing good and may be extended as far as necessary for the Land Carriage opposite to the Kenhawa, for	4000
Total,	£32,500

[Endorsement:] Estimate of the Expence in removing the obstructions of the Navigation of James River.

(To be continued.)

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

The Trend of History: Origins of Twentieth Century Problems.

By WILLIAM KAY WALLACE. (New York: Macmillan Company.

1922. Pp. xix, 372. \$3.50.)

THIS work constitutes a respectable achievement in the field of historical interpretation. The author endeavors to unfold from the vast body of facts relative to the history of modern times the major trends and developments which have produced the contemporary social order. The attempt is, for the most part, successful and illuminating. The present work is, apparently, the first in a series of two or more volumes—in all probability it is the historical prolegomenon to a sociological analysis of modern society.

Mr. Wallace's conception of the trend of history is that we are passing from an age dominated by political institutions into one in which the economic and social factors will be ascendant. "We are standing on the threshold of an unpolitical age. Politics has fallen from its high estate. . . . The preëminence of the State politically conceived, has been called into question. . . . Other forms of corporate organisation are pressing for recognition. We may in turn see arising before our eyes a new, great social institution. . . . 'Industrialism,' which may serve to denominate this new institution, is a social and economic system, only indirectly political. Such would appear to be the trend of history." While this view has received the partial assent of notable political thinkers from Gierke and Maitland to Figgis, Belloc, Duguit, Oppenheimer, Loria, and Laski, its truth or falsity does not affect the value of this first volume by Mr. Wallace. He makes little effort to elaborate this thesis in his review of the more important tendencies in the development of modern society.

Much more significant for the historian is his view of the true nature and function of history. He boldly claims that all vital history must be institutional and interpretative, must discover and indicate causal relationships, and must concentrate upon those things which most directly contribute to an explanation of the characteristics of the present age:

History is the book of life of mankind. Its function is primarily interpretative. Historical interpretation means the selection of those relevant factors out of the mass of past events which stand in significant relation to the present moment. . . . Hitherto history has generally been conceived in an exclusively political sense as a record of the *res gestae*, and of the men who brought them to pass. . . . History must henceforth

be approached from an institutional, not from an individual or national standpoint. . . . Religion, politics, and economics are the three great regulative factors of human intercourse subsumed under the term—Society. At various epochs the principal emphasis has been placed now on one, now on another of these elements, according to a certain historically relevant relationship which may be traced. It is a one-sided distortion of historical truth to attempt to claim absolute preëminence for any one of these factors, though the dominance first of one and then of another is confirmed by a perusal of history. As a consequence the manner and mode of the civilisation of a given epoch, the cultural life of a period is colored by the dominant characteristic of the age, be it religious, political, or economic. . . . History in this sense is not merely the book of life, it may if read aright become the book of wisdom of mankind. . . . [By] presenting those events which are closely related to our own times and showing the relationship that exists between the past and the present, . . . we may hope to arrive at an understanding of the significance of the course of events. . . . It is . . . with these causal factors that history is primarily concerned. It is by weaving them into a unity, by setting forth cogently whatever may serve to explain their meaning, that the course of events, the trend of history is revealed.

This appears to the reviewer to be a reasonably accurate and satisfactory formulation of the point of view and programme of the so-called "new history", and Mr. Wallace has made a creditable contribution to the growing body of historical literature which exemplifies this type of historical writing. His work begins with a survey of the breakdown of the medieval system as produced by the rise of the middle class, the growth of parliamentary institutions, the early phases of nationalism and secular absolutism, and the anticipations of constitutional government, culminating in the French Revolution and the popularization of national sentiment. He next sketches the remarkable development of the power and prestige of the *bourgeoisie* since the Industrial Revolution, and describes the development of nationalism and *Realpolitik*. Then the reaction against capitalism and nationalism is studied in the development of socialism and internationalism. The remaining portion of the book is devoted to a somewhat confused analysis of modern diplomacy, imperialism, and international relations, in the course of which the author develops the interesting, if not altogether convincing, thesis that imperialism in the contemporary age has been due to collusion between the aristocracy and the proletariat, and not to the *bourgeois* impulse to extend trading facilities by securing markets in territory overseas.

The author does not give any evidence of acquaintance with the most important literature of institutional and interpretative history which has been produced in the last generation, and, though his conclusions are not widely different from the accepted synthesis of modern history in such works as those by Pollard, Gillespie, Ogg, Abbott, Hayes, Fueter, Marvin, and others, there can be no doubt that Mr. Wallace's analysis would have been freshened and strengthened if he had possessed a prior acquaintance with the more up-to-date works on modern times. Particu-

larly does the book lack an adequate comprehension and exposition of the relation of the expansion of Europe and the Industrial Revolution to the institutional history of Europe since 1500. Again, the order and arrangement of chapters is curiously and notably defective, frequently defying both logic and continuity of thought. There are a number of minor errors, such as the sweeping statement about the effects of the French Revolution (p. 80), the exaggerated notion of the influence of Rousseau upon American political thought from 1765 to 1776, the allegation that racial arrogance has played no part in French nationalism, and the assertion that Locke's *Second Treatise of Government* is written in "lucid language", but, on the whole, it is the opinion of the reviewer that in few other places can there be discovered as successful an attempt to interpret the "trend of modern history".

HARRY ELMER BARNES.

Progress and Science: Essays in Criticism. By ROBERT SHAFER. (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1922. Pp. xii, 243. \$2.50.)

SOMEONE who wishes to be thought original should try writing a book in the field of social studies without using the word "progress", or its popular equivalent "evolution". I don't know whether it would be possible, so convenient is the word for conveying the impression of valuable objectives without being under the necessity of defining either the values or objectives. The other day I read Mr. Herbert Hoover's little booklet on *American Individualism*, in which the word progress was used twenty-six times in seventy pages; and although Mr. Hoover implicitly accepted the notion of progress as the test of all social organization, and explicitly justified his faith in American Individualism on the ground that it contributed to progress, he did not condescend to tell us what it was that constituted progress. In reading his book I was accordingly left with a lively sense of being on my way without knowing where I was going. This I suppose is the great value of the word; it stands as a symbol of the modern faith that the great thing is to keep on moving, the substance of the thing not seen but hoped for being that if we do this, if we keep on moving, we shall every day in every way be getting better and better.

The content of this modern creed is of course more concrete than this in the minds of those who have thought seriously about it; and in this more concrete form Mr. Shafer has defined it accurately enough as follows:

Social progress has in short . . . become a species of popular religion of which the chief articles of belief are: that earthly life is in and for itself a good thing, that terrestrial happiness is possible for all men, that applied science and industry have given us the means for abundant enjoyment, and, that it is now the task of social science and government so to order our common life that toil shall not rest heavily upon any of

us and that the means of enjoyment shall be equally open to all. It is, moreover, generally believed not only that terrestrial happiness is possible for all men, but that it is infallibly coming to pass. (P. 49.)

Mr. Shafer is convinced that this is a dangerous delusion; and his book (a revision of essays previously printed) is devoted to proving it. He has perhaps not always chosen the strongest towers for demolition, and he sometimes accepts evidence of doubtful validity. For example, his use of the results of the army intelligence tests (he is not alone in this) seems to prove that the average adult mind of Americans is below the average adult mind of Americans—which reminds one of the Dominie who claimed a high standard for his own sermons by saying, "I always preach up to my average, and usually above it". But in general Mr. Shafer's work is a thoughtful presentation of points often made before. Science increased the goods to be enjoyed; but the result is that men and their desires increase more rapidly, so that happiness is as far off as before. Neither education nor institutional change can accomplish more than a limited improvement, because the accumulation of knowledge "is a very different thing from increasing intellectual capacity", and biology assures us, or at least Professor Conklin does, that "the hope of permanently improving the human race, or any other species . . . can only lead to disappointment". In the end all that Mr. Shafer will concede is that the doctrine of Progress "may indeed serve as an anodyne for the treadmill of earthly experience".

But this is to concede all. Creeds are illusions; but that is precisely their significance and value. Man cannot live the good life without illusions. The beasts of the field live without illusions, taking things as they come, because they remember but little and foresee but little. But man recalls the past, and because he does so he also looks into the future; and he finds that the present, regarded in this long perspective, is intolerable as reality. From this reality he accordingly escapes into an imagined past or future, into a dream world, into utopia. If utopia (Plato's or Sir Thomas More's or Edward Bellamy's) became a reality it too would be intolerable, because there would no longer be anything to hope for, mystery and adventure and aspiration would disappear—in short, existence would be a burden. It was quite unnecessary for Plato to exclude poetry and the fine arts from his Republic. In a real utopia they would vanish of themselves, since in a real utopia there would no longer be any incentive to create imagined utopias. The notion of progress is the illusion, the utopia, which the modern world has substituted for that of Christian theology. Formerly men labored in the vineyard of the Lord, and their reward was to enter into Heaven. To-day, having lost faith in God and Heaven, we labor "to make this world a better place to live in", and our reward is to be remembered by a grateful posterity. Posterity, like adversity, thus has its uses—"Posterity", as Diderot remarked, "is the other world of the philosopher". It is illusion if you like; but after all we are perhaps more likely to make the

world a better place to live in if we think it can be done than if we think it can't be done.

CARL BECKER.

A Manual of Archive Administration, including the Problems of War Archives and Archive Making. By HILARY JENKINSON, M.A., F.S.A. [*Economic and Social History of the World War, British Series*, JAMES T. SHOTWELL, Ph.D., General Editor. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.] (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1922. Pp. xix, 243, 7. 10 s. 6d.)

THIS work is divided into five parts and six appendixes, of which part I. defines archives, discusses their nature and quality and the standardization of methods respecting them, and summarizes the purpose of the book. Part II. (pp. 23-114) treats of the Origin and Development of Archives and Rules for Archive Keeping, for example, their evolution with respect to division and differentiation; their transmission with respect to questions of custody and administration; the functions of an archivist, what they are and are not; archives as contrasted with manuscripts in museums and libraries; the physical and moral defense of archives; their housing, care, and repair; principles for the classification of archives; preparation of guides, indexes and repertories, and calendars, as well as printed texts. Part III. (pp. 115-133) is concerned mainly with the problems arising in the selection and destruction of "modern archives". Part IV. (pp. 134-162), on "archive making", discusses the materials, such as paper, inks, stamps, and typewriter ribbons, and the administrative functions like preservation and destruction, accessioning, use of a register, limitation of use in certain cases, and organization of the staff. Part V. (pp. 163-178) is wholly devoted to "war archives" of the late World War, namely, their bulk, questions of selection, the relations of local and central war archives, and ideas for their collection and arrangement. The appendixes, in part, outline a scheme for a "bibliography of archive science", suggest paraphernalia such as boxes, files, and bindings, and lay down specimen "rules for an archive repairing department". There is an adequate index.

Mr. Jenkinson had written most of his work before he met with the reviewer's scheme for an archives manual, presented in 1912 at a conference of the Public Archives Commission. He graciously refers to it as an "excellent scheme" and adds: "A manual completed on the lines there laid down should contain . . . a large amount of what the archivist requires in the way of suggestion and precept." But he also hopes his book, "based on those archives which have inspired the work of so many American scholars, may be found to contain a point of view and illustrations worthy of some attention". The reviewer is happy to assure him that his hope must be realized, and that his sound judgments deserve *serious* attention from American archivists and custodians of our official records.

Such a work in English has been a need, and the American archivist could set himself no more useful undertaking than the making of an intimate summary of this volume, in all matters that are applicable and adjustable to the nature of American archives; and he could enhance the value of his archives by introducing the practice of these first principles into his administration of them. To the historian or other scholar, the Jenkinson volume will have value with respect to the evolution of the British records.

It is tempting to digest the main points, but allotted space forbids. The fundamental principles he aims to hold uppermost. The primary duty of the archivist is to safeguard his archives, and secondarily he should "provide . . . for the needs of historians and other research workers". This order "must not be reversed". So "the only correct basis of arrangement is exposition of the administrative objects which the archives originally served", and not "the subject interests they may possess for modern students". Therefore, the *fonds* or archive group constitutes "the archives resulting from the work of an administration which was an organic whole, complete in itself, capable of dealing independently, without any added or external authority, with every side of any business which could normally be presented to it". His definitions of archives and documents need to be studied in the United States, where the distinction is hardly understood, whence comes also lack of understanding in arrangement and classification. A corollary he gives is, that "archives were not drawn up in the interest or for the information of posterity" and that documents become archives when they "are set aside for preservation in official custody". Problems concerning the late war archives, in most cases, "cannot be properly understood except by an archivist trained in the history of archives of the past".

VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS.

Rome and the World Today: a Study, in Comparison with Present Conditions, of the Reorganization of Civilization under the Roman Empire which Brought to a War-worn World Two Hundred Years of Peace. By HERBERT S. HADLEY, Professor of Law at the University of Colorado. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1922. Pp. xvi, 362. \$3.00.)

THIS volume by the former governor of Missouri is in no sense a work of scholarly research nor does it make any such pretension. It is a study of the career of Augustus and is based frankly upon secondary sources, and, apparently, upon such of them as are available in English. For the specialist the work is marred by a number of mistakes and misleading expressions but an enumeration of them is hardly necessary. They do not greatly diminish the value of the book for the general reader as they seldom affect the broad outline of the picture which the author draws. For the historian the interest of the work must be sought elsewhere than

in its details. It will always be worth while to learn the views of a man of such ability and standing as Professor Hadley on the results of historical investigation and from this point of view the book will have an interest for the specialist in spite of its inaccuracies.

Two motives have led to the publication of the book. One of these is the desire of the author to encourage those who feel depressed by the present situation of the world by showing that civilization has survived a crisis quite as formidable in the past. The similarity of conditions to-day and those which confronted Augustus is seldom long absent from the author's mind, but the analogy is not often pressed unduly. How much comfort the reader will derive from this side of the work will probably depend upon the strength of his faith in the validity of historic parallels.

The other motive for the publication is the enthusiastic admiration of the author for Augustus and his conviction that historians have not adequately appreciated that emperor's work or character. As a vindication of Augustus in the eyes of the general reader the work will probably be successful, if it should achieve popularity, but it is not likely to affect materially the judgment of scholars. The author seems hardly to have understood the grounds on which his hero has been criticized by historians and hence his answers are not usually convincing. For example, the often-repeated charge of hypocrisy has a much more solid basis than Professor Hadley seems to believe. The accusation was not brought against the emperor on such trivial grounds as that he used the device of a sphinx on his seal but because the entire Principate was an elaborate farce. It can only be met by finding some other explanation of the element of make-believe in his government. The reviewer personally believes that this can be done, at least to a considerable extent, but Professor Hadley seems hardly to have seen that under Augustus things were not always what they were officially described as being. Other instances of the same sort might be given, but this one will suffice for purposes of illustration.

In sum, it may be said that while the book will have only a general interest for the specialist it will give the average reader a substantially true picture of the times. It is well written and entertaining and the errors of detail do not materially affect the broad outlines of the author's presentation. As an admirable corrective to much popular misunderstanding both of Rome and of Augustus it is to be hoped that the work will enjoy a wide circulation.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

A History of Germanic Private Law. By RUDOLF HUEBNER, Professor of Legal History in the University of Giessen. Translated by FRANCIS S. PHILBRICK, Professor of Law in the University of California. [The Continental Legal History Series, vol. IV., published under the auspices of the Association of American Law

Schools.] (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1918. Pp. lix, 785. \$4.50.)

READERS of Professor Huebner's scholarly and illuminating *Grundzüge des Deutschen Privatrechts* will rejoice to find it, under its English title and in its English form, included among the volumes of the invaluable Continental Legal History Series, edited by a learned committee of the Association of American Law Schools. In its present edition Dr. Huebner's work will be read, moreover, by many students of law and history who have not a mastery of the technical legal German of the original. Here they will find a rich treasure-house for their exploration and delight. May they use it wisely and frequently in the enrichment of English and American studies in legal history and comparative law.

Although the author deals primarily with the principles of present-day Germanic law, he gives an admirable survey of the historical evolution of the law before and since the Reception of elements of the Roman system. The introduction, in which the general traits of Germanic private law are set forth, is all too slight to enable the reader to obtain a full and rounded picture of the processes which preceded, accompanied, and followed the Reception. But it is suggestive and lucid, and is supplemented by many portions of the main part of the work. In five "books" Dr. Huebner gives an admirable account of the chief subdivisions of the private law of persons, things, obligations, family relations, and inheritance. In each book the principles of law are traced in their historical development throughout the centuries of German life. Origins, medieval growth, the influence of the Reception, and the modern codes, all find their appropriate place in the author's plan. This method of treatment, especially in the hands of a master like Dr. Huebner, makes for lucidity and for the reader's firm grasp of the historical basis of the several branches of modern law stripped of the complexities and superfluities of antiquarianism.

Professor Huebner is a Germanist as distinct from a Romanist: he follows in the footsteps of Gierke and Brunner, not in those of Windscheid and Dernburg. But he uses his materials in his own way and is moderate in his expression of the views of the Germanistic school of legal thought. He is a disciple who respects the conclusions of his masters, but is independent enough to differ from them on occasion and to strike out new lines for himself. This quality of Dr. Huebner's scholarship gives his treatise a special value. It is an excellent summary of the tenets of the Germanists, and as such it will be welcomed by many who find it difficult to grasp the reality—as distinct from the artificiality—of the juristic person, the *Gewere*, and all the other Germanistic doctrines as they are set forth in the longer works of the school. Dr. Huebner boils it all down for us and puts it shortly and clearly. This is his great and special service. But throughout his treatise one finds the author's own philosophic speculation and critical judgment at work: and, when the end is reached, one feels that the author, Germanist though he be, is yet some-

thing more than the pure Germanist. He is indeed not unmindful of the injurious effects, as he is also not unmindful of the blessings, produced by the penetration of Roman legal rules and ideas into the *corpus* of Germanic law in the time of the Reception. By bringing out both of these aspects of the reception of foreign law in Germany Professor Huebner has rendered an additional service to scholarship.

Professor Philbrick's English translation of the German text of the work is accurate and clear. The introductory essays by Sir Paul Vinogradoff and Professor Walz place the reader in the historical and philosophical atmosphere of the subject-matter of the treatise itself and whet his appetite for solid and entertaining learning. Let us be glad that Dr. Huebner's well-known work is now within the reach of anyone who reads English and does not read German. He will find these pages a useful and enlightening introduction to the history and principles of that part of the present-day private law which is based on Germanic, as distinct from Roman, origins and development.

H. D. HAZELTINE.

The History of the Balkan Peninsula from the Earliest Times to the Present Day. By FERDINAND SCHEVILL, Professor of Modern European History in the University of Chicago. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company. 1922. Pp. vii, 558. \$4.00.)

THE fundamental problem in writing a history of the Balkan Peninsula resembles on a small scale that of writing a history of Europe. Both tasks involve greatly diversified geographical conditions, a number of peoples differing in language and traditions, political conditions which vary from relative anarchy through national to imperial organizations, continuous strands of local history woven together irregularly in the colors of sympathy and aversion and peace and war, and relations of many sorts to areas and peoples outside. If the book must be a short one, the process of selection and exclusion is important and exacting.

Another difficulty arises from the fact that many opaque spots still exist in Balkan history. Archaeology has accomplished little outside of the classical Greek region toward illuminating pre-Macedonian times. Intensive studies can be carried much further in assembling details and restoring completeness and unity to the history of every period and people of the peninsula. Parts of the land are not well measured and mapped—not even well explored. No adequate census has been taken anywhere in Balkania (to adopt Professor Schevill's apt name) until relatively recent times, and in some considerable areas there has never been a reliable census. An impartial study of the habits and customs of the peoples has still to be completed. Natives, as for example Cvijić, have made beginnings but these must be purified from their strong taint of political propaganda. A future age may produce a syndicated enterprise which will do extensive justice to the field.

Professor Schevill has handled his complicated problem very skillfully. He has for the most part omitted doubtful and controversial matters. But believing that an important part of the historian's work consists in illuminating the present time by an accurate representation of appropriate events in the past, he has not endeavored to give equal weight to all regions and to all periods of time. After an introduction which contains a general survey of both the history and geography of Balkania, he devotes only a little space to the Greek and Roman periods. The time of the Byzantine Empire, and Ottoman rule to 1800 A. D. are more fully discussed. About one-half of the book remains to be devoted to the periods since, which he calls the epoch of liberation.

The narrative is sober, clear, and well balanced. Descriptions of the regions, the peoples, and the systems of government are introduced at suitable chronological junctures. Probably no two writers would agree precisely on the distribution of emphasis in such a history. It is possible to criticize Professor Schevill mildly for having introduced at times into an already overcrowded canvas descriptions and episodes which lie mainly outside Balkania. It may be that he devotes a disproportionate space to the systems of government of the Byzantine and Ottoman empires. Of course Balkania was an integral and important part of each of these empires, and strictly speaking it included Constantinople, which was the capital of them both. So much justification can hardly be adduced for the introduction in chapter XXVII. of accounts of the Armenian and Cretan questions under Abdul Hamid II. Perhaps some space saved here might have been used in defining more clearly and sharply the characteristics and the historic continuity of each of the Balkan peoples.

Professor Schevill avoids expressions of personal opinions and exhortations based on mistaken policies of the past. He permits the reader ordinarily to draw his own deductions from the facts presented. Here and there, however, he betrays a pessimism, based upon the repeated triumph of destructive over constructive forces in this area, which does not permit much hope for the future. He feels that imperialism and extreme nationalism have alike led to fatal results. He sees hope only in the appearance of a real League of Nations, which will be able to supervise and control Balkania.

Whether Dr. Schevill has made many errors of omission, as regards affairs of equal importance to those he mentions, is a matter of personal judgment. His positive errors are not of great consequence. He is inexact as regards a number of dates and circumstances, as when he calls it "almost two thousand years" since the reign of the Emperor Constantine (p. 7), and states that Maria Theresa of Austria died in 1781 (p. 271), and Catherine II. of Russia in 1795 (p. 273), and that the Franco-Russian alliance was formed "in 1892, to be exact" (p. 449). It is hardly accurate to refer to the "Norse conquerors" of Russia (p.

108), or to say that the Byzantine Empire was "made up of Greeks" (p. 48), or that descendants of Central Asians make up the bulk of the population of Anatolia to-day (p. 127), or that Mohammed II. repopulated Constantinople after 1453 "from the country round about" (p. 200). There is perhaps a slight pro-Serbian and anti-Bulgarian bias in the treatment of the Macedonian and similar questions.

The style is occasionally obscure, but it contains frequent shrewd observations, vivid phrases, and adequate descriptions. For example, he says in portraying the Byzantine Empire: "The vitalizing element is the stream of inheritance, consisting of the Roman tradition in the state and the Hellenic tradition in commerce, literature, and the arts" (p. 123). Again, he describes the theme of the second half of the book as "the heroic struggle of the rejuvenated Christian peoples to shake off a degrading yoke and to assert their inalienable right of directing their own destiny" (p. 287). The spelling and proof-reading are not faultless. The book contains fifteen well-chosen maps, a bibliographical list, tables of sovereigns, and an analytical index.

ALBERT HOWE LYBYER.

La Música de las Cantigas. Estudio sobre su Origen y Naturaleza con reproducciones fotográficas del texto y transcripción moderna por JULIAN RIBERA de las Reales Académias Española y de la Historia. (Madrid: Tipografía de la *Revista de Archivos*. 1922. Pp. 156, 346.)

THIS forms the third volume of the great edition of the "Cantigas de Santa Maria" of Alphonso X., *El Sabio*, which has been edited for the Royal Spanish Academy by the Marqués de Valmar. The first two volumes of the edition, on the text of these songs, hardly come within the scope of this *Review*. But the present volume is not only so valuable a contribution to our knowledge of the medieval music of the Spanish peninsula and to the history of music in general but it also breaks such new ground as to the interrelations of the civilizations of Islam and of Christendom that at least attention must be drawn to it in these pages. That students of the history of music must take account of it is certain, just as students of Romance literature had to take account of the earlier volumes; but our unhappy zeal for specialization would be reduced to an absurdity if this volume were to be passed over by students of history because they were not musicians, or were not interested in Alphonso the Wise and his taste in songs. Songs, like folk-lore stories, are free of all boundaries of race, language, or religion. They and their melodies run beyond seas and transform themselves into strange shapes and for strange uses, and Professor Ribera's thesis is, in short, that these Galician hymns in honor of the Virgin are last echoes of love-melodies gathered in Bagdad to please Harun ar-Rashid and perhaps go back even farther to Persia, Byzantium, and Greece.

In this he is only confirming and carrying a step farther his thesis of ten years ago in his *Discurso*, read before the Royal Spanish Academy when he was received by it as a member in May, 1912: that the key to the mechanism of the poetical forms of the various lyrical systems in medieval Europe is to be found in the Andalusian lyric, to which the *Cancionero* of Abencuzmán belongs (*Discurso*, p. 50) and that the Andalusian lyric arose in a bilingual community speaking two colloquials, Arabic and Romance, in the mixed civilization, Muslim and Christian, of the south of Spain. And even then he had recognized the importance for this of these *Cantigas* and of the musical affiliations of Alphonso the Wise (pp. 47 ff.).

He, now, on the basis of an elaborate study of the music of the *Cantigas*, to which he was led almost accidentally, has come to the following farther conclusions: (i) While the attempts through modern Muslim music to reach that of the medieval Muslim world have failed, there is to be found in the manuscripts of the *Cantigas*, when rightly interpreted, a very rich collection of specimens of that music, both vocal and instrumental, perfectly preserved as it existed in our thirteenth century. (ii) This collection also gives the origin of all the different forms of native Spanish music existing in the different provinces of Spain at the present day; they all go back to these, products of the Andalusian genius, working under the stimulus of the Muslim civilization. (iii) This musical system also gives the clue to the secular European music of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, especially that in the manuscripts of the troubadours, which has remained so obscure in spite of all researches. (iv) It shows clearly the origin of that mysterious musical phantom, "musica ficta" and "diabolus in musica", which appeared among almost all the peoples of medieval Europe and the origin of which has never been explained. (v) This music is in a notation quite intelligible but very archaic, pointing to great antiquity; yet it is such as to give pleasure even to ears accustomed to modern harmonized music. It is demonstrably derived from the music of Persia and Byzantium. Does it, then, lead us back to the lost music of Greece?

Professor Ribera shows that the origins of Muslim music are made perfectly clear by the Arabic writers on the history of that art. These writers have also treated the art at length; but their descriptions and theories have been almost unintelligible to us for the lack of illustrative specimens. And modern Muslim music has gone only a little way toward filling this gap; yet perhaps Professor Ribera is here somewhat too disdainful. Certainly the manuscripts of the *Cantigas* do fill the gap most amply, both in a multitude of melodies in full notation and in many pictures of musicians and their instruments. One of the great bridges of connection between the two civilizations is thus at last made plain to us and vague hypotheses of possibilities become solid reality. This is part of the great work of the Spanish school of Arabists, and is to be sharply distinguished from the fantastic speculations of Professor Wiener.

DUNCAN B. MACDONALD.

Medieval France: a Companion to French Studies. Edited by ARTHUR TILLEY, M.A. (Cambridge: University Press. 1922. Pp. xx, 456. 25 s.)

"THE aim of this volume is to present to the reader within a moderate compass a survey of the history (political, military, naval, economic), language, literature, and art of Medieval France." This aim has been fully attained and a book produced that appeals equally to the general reader and to students. In the dearth of good books in English in this field, the volume will be especially welcome to teachers as collateral reading for classes in earlier French history, though it is evidently not intended as a text-book.

The list of the collaborators is in itself sufficient guarantee of the character of the work: Chapter I., Geography, by Professor Gallois; II., History, by Professor Langlois; III., The Army, by M. P. Caron; IV., The Navy, by M. Ch. de la Roncière; V., Industry and Commerce, by Professor Halphen; VI., Scholastic Philosophy and Universities, by Mr. A. G. Little; VII., Language and Dialects, by Professor Jeanroy; VIII., Literature, by M. Lucien Foulet; IX., Architecture, by Sir T. G. Jackson; X., Sculpture, Glass, Painting, by Dr. M. R. James.

Professor Langlois gives in 120 pages a brilliant review of the political history of France from 987 to 1494. Without unnecessary detail, he traces the growth of the royal power, the development of administrative machinery and taxation, the rise of the towns, and the beginnings of foreign interests and international relations. In a book of this kind chapters on the army and navy might well have been omitted to give space for more important topics, such as the organization of the Church in France and the condition of the peasants. The treatment of the navy, however, proves unusually interesting. The chapter on the army is not so satisfactory, omitting as it does the discussion of such general topics as the influence of crusading experience, the reasons for English superiority in the Hundred Years' War, the changes in tactics and discipline due to the use of mercenary soldiers and the early organization of artillery. Professor Halphen's survey of industry and commerce is, as might be expected, a masterly sketch. In particular, it contains the best brief account of the fairs of Champagne to be found in English. The chapter on medieval French literature is a model of its kind. It is charmingly written and M. Foulet has shown great skill in tracing the relations of literature to the social and political conditions of the time.

In turning to the contributions of the English authors, one cannot help being struck by a falling off in the method of treatment. The chapters on the universities, on architecture, and on the arts are scholarly in treatment, but they lack the breadth of view and the consciousness of the unity of all phases of French life that are to be found in the other chapters. There are too many facts for a general survey and the woods cannot be seen for the trees. The details of the organization and studies of the

thirteen provincial universities of France are of interest only to the specialist and become tiresome to the general reader. The same is true of the description of decorative details of the various cathedrals and abbey churches. Such minutiae are more suited to a work of reference than to a general survey of the culture of the period.

A few errors due to carelessness or mistranslation have been noted. Louis VII. is said (p. 53) to have had no children by Eleanor of Aquitaine, though there were two daughters by this marriage; Philip the Fair died "without male heirs" (p. 173); Edward III. is called the "grand-nephew" and Philip VI. the "cousin" of Philip the Fair (p. 173); St. Louis's reign is given (p. 388) as 1223 to 1264; Ferdinand and Isabella are said to have had an "only" daughter (p. 137); the Normans are spoken of as the "most ferocious of all the barbarians who desolated France" (p. 333); the chief trade route between Aigues-Mortes and Rochelle, mentioned on page 339, differs from that laid down on M. Halphen's map, pages 202-203.

A. C. HOWLAND.

La Formation de l'Unité Française. Leçons professées au Collège de France en 1889-1890 par AUGUSTE LONGNON, Membre de l'Institut. Publiées par H.-FRANÇOIS DELABORDE, avec Préface par CAMILLE JULLIAN. (Paris: Auguste Picard. 1922. Pp. xiii, 460.)

THE posthumous publication of class-room lectures is one of the penalties which great and original scholars are likely to have to pay for their pre-eminence, and Auguste Longnon, author of the *Atlas Historique de la France* and profound student of French historical geography and toponymy, is to be no exception to the rule. His lectures on place-names began to appear in 1920, and the course of lectures on *La Formation de l'Unité Française*, which he delivered more than thirty years ago at the Collège de France, is now at hand in a substantial volume. Let it be said at the outset that the publication of this work, revealing as it does the wealth of the author's knowledge extending over a vast field and the qualities of his teaching, will not diminish his reputation. The volume contains no striking novelties, but novelties are hardly to be expected in a work which comes from the press so long after it was written.

Writing of the author's career shortly after his death in 1911, Gabriel Monod expressed a regret that in Longnon the historian had been so largely submerged in the geographer and that he had died without producing "a history of the geographical and political formation of France which he was qualified above all others to write" (*Revue Historique*, CVIII. 327). This history, which Longnon failed to give to the world in his lifetime, is now supplied in the present volume, and while it may not have taken quite the form which the author would have most desired, it is not likely that the territorial growth and consolidation of the French

nation from 987 to 1871 will ever again be treated with such fullness and mastery. Beginning with an exact description of the realm, of the royal domain, and of the holdings of the chief vassals at the accession of Hugh Capet, the author goes on to trace in detail the territorial vicissitudes of the monarchy under Hugh's successors until the forces of feudal disintegration and of foreign domination were at last defeated and the royal domain extended to the limits of the realm. It is a complicated story. Lands once gained by the monarchy were often torn away again in moments of weakness or granted away as appanages to provide suitable establishments for princes of the blood royal, and their recovery was often long delayed and difficult. But the author's courage does not fail him amid the mass of intricate details. With an unrivalled knowledge of feudal dynasties and their holdings he pursues his course, drawing up the balance-sheet of the gains and losses of the monarchy reign by reign. With the passing of the feudal age and its complexities the narrative becomes more simple, and the author confines his attention in the main to the policy and aims of the government in successive periods and to the provisions of the treaties by which at the close of successful wars the national territory was extended step by step toward the "natural frontiers". Brief though the treatment of the modern period is, it is difficult to understand why Richelieu's struggle with the Huguenots, which was surely an important episode in the history of national unification, should have been passed over with no more than a bare mention.

A sort of patriotic fervor pervades the entire work, giving it a certain epic quality. "L'histoire de la formation territoriale de la France que je vais dérouler devant vous, c'est, en effet, l'histoire de la formation du pays qui a tout notre amour, du pays pour lequel nous sommes tous prêts à donner le meilleur de nous-mêmes, soit en le défendant contre les entreprises de l'étranger, soit en travaillant, chacun dans notre sphère, à lui maintenir la place glorieuse que, depuis tant de siècles, il occupe si légitimement à la tête des peuples." Longnon was a convinced believer in the doctrine of the "natural frontiers". But everywhere his patriotism was restrained and controlled by his devotion to science and his love of truth.

The volume is provided with a detailed and careful index of some eighty pages which greatly increases its value as a work of reference. It is almost wholly lacking in bibliography.

C. W. DAVID.

History of Switzerland, 1499-1914. By WILHELM OECHSLI, late Professor of Swiss History at the University of Zurich. Translated from the German by Eden and Cedar Paul. [Cambridge Historical Series.] (Cambridge: University Press. 1922. Pp. xiii, 480. 20 s.)

FOLLOWING the general plan of the Cambridge Historical Series this work is concerned with the modern history of the Swiss commonwealth.

The heroic-romantic period of struggle and victorious independence is recapitulated in a few pages, and the story begins with the just-completed confederation of thirteen states now practically, if not formally, detached from the German Empire. The author would have been entitled to write with authority upon the whole history of that republic if required, for in addition to important contributions to various intervening periods, he had produced monumental works on the origins of the confederation, and at the other extreme on its history in the nineteenth century.

Switzerland enters this epoch with a military reputation surpassed by none, but with a civil organization so feeble that it collapsed on the slightest touch. Each miniature state was so inflated with local independence that the federal diet was a mere assembly of ambassadors who could take no action without referring to home governments, and if by some extraordinary chance a resolution was unanimously voted obedience could not be obtained if any state chose to disregard it. Any member of the confederation could make separate alliances with foreign states; consequently the picture is confused with a multitude of entangling treaties. Switzerland, at peace within, was mixed in all the wars of western Europe. The country enjoyed the effects of neutrality because all nations wished to use it as a recruiting ground.

If the observer is surprised that the Swiss remained in this unstable condition for 350 years before obtaining a real federal government, he must consider the shocks which this feeble structure encountered. Here is where Professor Oechsli's treatment excels. The work is almost strictly political history, with only a few of its twenty-six chapters devoted to the civilization of the advancing centuries. Much space is given to the international complications in which Switzerland was involved owing to differences of opinion on religious and governmental questions upon which any state could act as it pleased.

The first shock was received almost at the beginning of the new union, in the advent of the Reformation. Religion being under state regulation, the differences of belief entered at once into politics and caused not only differences of sentiment but even hostile military action between states. Possession of common subject territories and a common market for mercenary soldiers prevented by the narrowest margin the dissolution of the union on lines of creed. In the discussion of this subject the author is eminently fair. Stanch Protestant himself, he distributes praise and blame with discriminating hand to both contestants, and presents a remarkable picture of the international intrigues which characterized the conflict. Further on, in reviewing the part played by the Swiss in the religious wars of two centuries, he notes the numerous instances where their soldiery delivered the decisive blow for pay and not for patriotism.

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were characterized also by wide differences in the forms of state government, varying from rural democracies to patrician aristocracies in the cities, with standing subordination of those who lived outside the walls. Here again the picture is

sketched with rapid and decisive strokes and the failings of the author's ancestral countrymen are described with penetrating insight. So too the final shock of the Revolution and Napoleonic interference receive an unencumbered treatment which one does not always expect from an author who has already written volumes on that period alone.

An appendix contains a reprint of a series of articles written during the early part of the war on the "Historical Relations of England and Switzerland", covering events between 1514 and 1857. This was intended to restrain unfavorable comments inspired by German sympathy on England's position in the war. An extensive bibliography of Swiss history will be helpful to progressive readers, but would have been more so if the items had been accompanied by brief comments.

The author should have the credit for his plan and treatment, but the translators deserve high praise for their clear-cut, distinctive English.

J. M. VINCENT.

Catherine de Médicis. By PAUL VAN DYKE, Professor in History at Princeton University. In two volumes. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1922. Pp. xi, 389; vii, 447. \$9.00.)

FOR nearly three centuries and a half "St. Bartholomew" epitomized for most persons the whole career and character of Catherine de' Medici, and the portrait by which she was best known was that of a monster of wickedness; crafty, perfidious, cruel; sleepless intriguer; seducer, poisoner, assassin; urged on from one crime to another by the demon of ambition and hate and revenge; pitiless, remorseless, utterly graceless; a foul spirit that entered into the wretched body of distracted France and incited it to self-destruction—the incarnation of infamy. Such is the portrait handed down and accepted as genuine for more than three hundred years.

But that incorrigible skeptic and iconoclast, Scholarship, which seems to take a malicious delight in making free with traditional portraits, has lately been showing a good deal of interest in this particular picture, so long hung between Messalina and Jezebel. Within three years two lives of Catherine de' Medici, both of capital importance, have appeared: in 1920, that of M. Jean-H. Mariéjol, whose reputation had already been established by an earlier work in the same field of French history, the sixth volume of Lavissee, *Histoire de France*; and now, that of Professor Van Dyke, who has given us in these two volumes the ripe fruit of ten years of research in the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Archives Nationales, the British Museum, the Vatican, and a dozen other libraries, Italian, German, and Swiss. These two are the first scientific biographies of Catherine, the first based wholly on original materials. Indeed, it is only recently that a critical study of her life has been possible. It is not above fifteen years ago that the complete correspondence of Catherine was first made available, in the edition of Counts de la Ferrière and Puchesse.

Of contemporary sources perhaps the most important, next to the letters of Catherine, are the reports of the various ambassadors at the court of France. In evaluating these Professor Van Dyke utters a *caveat*—none of them was strictly impartial, and, as access to the secret counsels of one party naturally closed the door to the other, none of them was fully informed. The most trustworthy and the least biased were the Venetians; the most violently prejudiced, the Spaniards; but the reports of the English, too, were warped by their sympathy with the Huguenots, and those of the Ferrarese by the connection of their ruling house with the family of Guise. The thoroughness of the author's exploration of the sources is attested by thousands of citations; his work is documented to the last degree; at every point he rests his case upon first-hand evidence.

No, not "case"; the word is misleading. Professor Van Dyke presents no case; he holds no brief, either for or against Catherine; he is neither apologist nor prosecutor. His sole aim is, to quote from his preface, to "show her as she was . . . to draw a portrait, not to pronounce a judgment".

The portrait he has drawn bears little resemblance to the legendary Catherine de' Medici. Instead of a monster of iniquity, inspired by a murderous hate and adept in every diabolical art, he has depicted a woman of extraordinary vitality and energy, and phenomenal capacity for affairs; tenacious of purpose, persistent, indefatigable; quick to sense a situation and prompt to act, yet seldom swayed by momentary passion; resourceful, and not scrupulous as to means; apparently frank, but in reality secretive, evasive, distrustful; a shrewd judge of motives, skeptical to the point of cynicism; a born intriguer; master of finesse, but more than once losing the trick through over-confidence in her own cleverness; self-possessed and rarely thrown off her guard; unimpressible, and dry of heart, save toward her husband and her children. Her ruling passion was love of power; her absorbing interest, "people and the game of mastering them" (II. 46). She was a politician, not a statesman; her own position and influence, the fortunes of her children, the glory of the house of Valois, were her ceaseless care and concern, not the strength and dignity of France or the welfare of the people. Though it is true that hers was probably the most stabilizing and unifying of the various political influences in France, that was due to the caprice of circumstances, rather than to lofty and disinterested devotion to the state. Had she loved France, and had she had the courage of such patriotism, she would have given over her wretched and futile policy of "balance", the immemorial expedient of the political trickster, and have rallied to the support of the crown the moderates who put France above religion and unity above orthodoxy. But courage was not of her nature, and patriotism was a sentiment unknown to her. She had no country, neither France nor Florence; her only fatherland was her family.

Religious scruple would have been no bar to such an alliance. "No one in her time was less of a fanatic in religion than she was" (II. 82). The great-granddaughter of Lorenzo the Magnificent, and the grand-niece of Leo X., she was too much of a Medici to be a bigot. She was politically minded, and with characteristic Renaissance license she took her religion, now more seriously, now less, as suited her immediate purpose. It was not purity of the Faith, any more than unity of the state, that constituted the controlling aim of her policy. To impute to her such ends would be to credit her with an idealism to which she never pretended. To abstract considerations she was quite indifferent; her aim was personal, concrete, practical—to preserve her own power and to retain her control over her sons. To that end she was prepared to compromise or to combat, to tolerate or to exterminate, according to the exigency of circumstances.

Not even St. Bartholomew, "the ugliest deed that stains the history of any modern European nation" (II. 87), a deed for which she more than anyone else was responsible (II. 61), was inspired by fanaticism, but by hatred, jealousy, and fear—hatred, a "certain unemotional hatred", of Coligny, because of his frigidity, his imperviousness to flattery; jealousy of his influence over Charles IX.; fear of detection and exposure, for the attempt upon Coligny, two days before the massacre, was beyond all doubt with her approval, possibly even at her instigation. It was the woman and the mother, turned fury, who "loosed the passionate vengeance of young Guise" upon the Admiral. St. Bartholomew was not the outcome of a deep-laid and long premeditated plot, but a devilish improvisation of Catherine's, to cover up her tracks. On this point the author's analysis of the evidence is so minute, exact, and impartial as to admit of no appeal from his conclusion (II. 108–117). Nor is there any ground for the charge of a Huguenot conspiracy against the crown, nor for the oft-repeated story, originating with Margaret of Valois, that Charles IX. believed in the existence of such a conspiracy (II. 86, 107).

But the limits of space forbid further comment. In a word, the work of Professor Van Dyke is scholarly, trustworthy, judicial, eminently fair, a masterpiece of research, presented in faultless literary form.

It had been the author's intention to add to the biography a third volume, of some five hundred letters of Catherine and other documents hitherto unprinted. It is the hope of every student of the period that the execution of that purpose may not be long delayed.

THEODORE COLLIER.

The Development of the British Empire. By HOWARD ROBINSON, Ph.D., Professor of History in Carleton College, under the editorship of JAMES T. SHOTWELL, Ph.D., Professor of History in

Columbia University. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1922. Pp. xv, 475, xxvi. \$2.75.)

It is evident that great care has been taken in the preparation of this text-book, and the author deserves much credit for accuracy of statement; but the task which he has attempted is an impossible one.

In his anxiety to include everything of major importance from the days of Elizabeth to the Washington Peace Conference, Professor Robinson has cut his narrative to the barest skeleton of fact, and even for text-book purposes this, to the reviewer, would seem a mistake. To be of any genuine educational use a text should be somewhat provocative of thought. This book is an historical Baedeker.

How could it be otherwise? It devotes ten pages to the revolt of the American Colonies, thirteen to the British Empire and Napoleon, six to Newfoundland and Hudson's Bay, and five each to the Confederation of Canada, the South African War, colonial conferences from 1887 to the opening of the Great War, and the duel with France for India. Three pages are given to the Indian mutiny and to Anglo-Russian competition in Afghanistan; while to Canadian liberalism under Laurier and to Great Britain's relations with China during the nineteenth century, in each instance, two pages are assigned.

Two unfortunate results follow from such a diaspora of interests within the compass of one book. In the first place, it is impossible, in many instances, to give a true account of many historical events, because to do so qualifying statements are essential, and such consume space. Secondly, the element of personality in history tends virtually to disappear, making the narrative dull and uninspiring.

As an instance of the first difficulty one may cite Professor Robinson's treatment of the causes of the South African War as given on page 370. It is true that "Kruger's heart was hardened", but it is also true that the Boers made a desperate effort at compromise during the summer of 1899, and likewise that throughout those same fatal months British troops poured into South Africa, making inevitable the Boer ultimatum in September. These facts have been ignored, not presumably because Professor Robinson was ignorant of their existence, but because he had no room for their inclusion.

As for the second criticism, it must be remembered that this book is apparently intended for the class room. The imagination and the sympathies of the undergraduate should be aroused and stimulated by the study of history, not deadened. When men such as Sir Henry Lawrence, Chinese Gordon, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and General Botha appear on the historic stage as machine-like units, devoid of personality, the interest flags. One may, of course, treat historic movements in an imaginative and sympathetic way while paying no attention whatsoever to individuals; but it is a difficult thing to do. Professor Robinson has not done it; no one could in the space allotted. To describe, for instance, the

agitation for reciprocity between Canada and the United States from 1891 to 1911 in one page in a way to grip the imagination is impossible. Ancient prejudices, racial prides, and economic cross-currents are too complex to be thus summarized and dismissed.

This book is a good guide-book to the empire's history. It has excellent maps and bibliographies and a good index. It adds something to the literature of the subject in chapter XI, a New Colonial Interest, in which it analyzes the opinions of McCulloch, Selkirk, and Wakefield. Aside from this, however, it contains nothing that could not readily be gleaned from the *Britannica*. Even as such it is not without value since it is, for facts, a handy reference book.

WALTER P. HALL.

The Holy Alliance: the European Background of the Monroe Doctrine. By W. P. CRESSON, Ph.D., formerly Secretary of the American Embassy in Petrograd. [Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1922. Pp. ix, 147. \$1.50.)

THE pact known as the Holy Alliance, signed in Paris on September 26, 1815, was essentially the product of Alexander I.'s visionary mind. The Emperor's dream of a combination of the great powers of Europe probably went back at least as far as 1804, the year in which he issued his well-known Instructions to Novosiltsov. After 1812, considering himself as arbiter of western Europe, he sought once more to revive the project of a European combination—a league, not so much of nations as of sovereigns, bound together like brothers for the purpose of governing their subjects in accordance with the fundamental precepts of the Christian religion. This was in substance the ideal behind the pact, an ideal which Alexander broached to Castlereagh and Wellington in February, 1815, and committed to writing in the following September. To Castlereagh it appeared to be a "piece of sublime mysticism and nonsense", although it was duly acknowledged in polite terms with Castlereagh's approval by the Prince Regent. Widely sanctioned by Continental rulers, the agreement was taken seriously by no one but its imperial author.

The true Holy Alliance was the outcome of a treaty signed in Paris on November 20, 1815. This brought into practical working relations a quadruple combination of powers which had been in some sort of union since 1813. It provided in article VI. for a new system of solving international problems—a system of conferences and congresses. Through a variety of modifications in this treaty Alexander was by 1820 "grouped" with Prussia and Austria, a combination which then advocated the principle of intervention in the affairs of such countries under European and monarchical sway as might be struggling for liberal and constitutional forms of government. Almost wherever liberalism raised its abominable head—in Italy, in Spain, and especially in Spanish-America—there this

Holy Alliance sought by armed forces to quash its unholy aspirations. To British and American statesmen it appeared to be a grave menace to political progress. Moved by the decisions in 1822 of the Congress of Verona and the restoration the next year to the Spanish throne of Ferdinand VII., and aware of the attitude of England's government, John Quincy Adams prompted President Monroe to promulgate in his message of December 2, 1823, sentiments that in time came to be known as the Monroe Doctrine. Thus a definite policy was announced by an American President, then quite unaware of its large consequences—a policy which was primarily at the outset an expression of opposition to European intervention in American affairs.

Dr. Cresson's monograph covers after a fashion the period just outlined. It rests upon a cursory examination of manuscript materials in Petrograd and in the Department of State (1816-1825). To these materials the reader must discover references in foot-notes, for they have not been either listed or analyzed in the bibliography (pp. 139-141). Much of the important printed lore bearing upon his theme has been examined by the author, but he gives no indication of having seen E. Muhlenbeck's *Étude sur l'Origine de la Sainte Alliance* (1887). For his emphatic and somewhat exaggerated assertions (pp. 33-35) regarding the importance of Nicolas Bergasse in the production of the famous pact of September 26, 1815, he has produced no really significant evidence. If he was aware that Castlereagh drafted in its final form article VI. of the treaty of November 20, 1815, he has sadly marred its careful language by translating it carelessly from the French and by omitting significant phrases (p. 28). And why, one must ask, with excellent translations of the pact easily accessible, should the author have deemed it necessary to translate it anew, not too well (p. 31)? Close scrutiny of numerous quotations has made it apparent that these can seldom be trusted; and translations from the French are frequently careless, ill considered, or misleading (cf. pp. 12, 28, 32, 37, 40, 85-86, 109).

In general the volume leaves the impression of being a brief for Alexander. It is neither a well-rounded nor a mature historical study of the European background of the Monroe Doctrine. Dr. Cresson is inclined to read into his sources conclusions scarcely warranted by them. To say, for example, that the treaty of Kalisch, arranged between Russia and Prussia with the aid of Stein on February 28, 1813, "was with the peoples of Germany rather than with their rulers" (p. 18), is to overlook the urgency of the political situation and to forget the real spirit prevailing among rulers at the time. To interpolate the term "League" (p. 34, note) in a quotation from Mme. de Choiseul-Gouffier's *Historical Memoirs* (Chicago, 1900, pp. 152-153), would seem to be quite unjustifiable. At the time when Simon Bolívar was contemplating in 1815 a possible assembly of delegates from all parts of South America, is it quite fair to assume—as does the author—that Bolívar's ideal was a League of Peace (p. 60)? To write of the South American *juntas* in 1810 as "against

the power of King Jerome" (p. 58), is of course a slip for King Joseph Bonaparte. Less excusable is the passage (p. 107) referring to Byron as singing "the heroic deeds of Marco Bozzaris".

In order to make an effective study of his theme, Dr. Cresson should have been familiar with the fairly consistent and far-reaching policies of three British statesmen, Pitt, Castlereagh, and Canning. To understand the designs and accomplishments of these men—in particular Castlereagh's work in the five years from 1813 to 1818—would have given him a viewpoint from which to gain a true vision of the virtues and the defects of their Continental contemporaries. But this viewpoint he has not acquired. The discovery in the index of no direct references to Alexander, to the Holy Alliance, or to Russia, is one more indication of carelessness. In brief, this essay is lacking in evidence of that scrupulous patience which is characteristic of true scholarship.

HENRY BARRETT LEARNED.

Bismarck's Diplomacy at its Zenith. By JOSEPH VINCENT FULLER, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History in the University of Wisconsin. [Harvard Historical Studies, vol. XXVI.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1922. Pp. xii, 368. \$3.75.)

THE interpretation of Bismarck's diplomacy during the Bulgarian crisis of 1885-1887 has hitherto depended upon guesses and surmises. But the documents now available, particularly those of the German Foreign Office, and numerous memoirs enable Professor Fuller to draw the veil and reveal the resourcefulness and treachery of Bismarck's policy. The new material has been skillfully woven into the old to present a clear picture, in excellent style, of the complicated relations of the great powers, the Balkan states, and Turkey. A lengthy annotated bibliography and an index are provided. Students of pre-war diplomacy will clamor for more monographs of this quality.

When the Bulgarian union was consummated in September, 1885, Bismarck dominated Europe. The Austrian alliance and the Three Emperors' League had reduced the eastern empires to obedience; the Triple Alliance permitted him to encourage French colonial ambitions and to challenge those of England. But the Bulgarian revolution and the fall of the Ferry ministry threw the system out of gear. The Austrian alliance assured German ascendancy if France and Russia could be kept apart, easy enough if Bismarck could compose Austro-Russian differences in the Balkans. But let those differences become acute, and Germany's position was impossible: support of Austria would throw Russia into France's arms, refusal of support would place Austria at Russia's mercy. The chancellor warned Vienna that "we could never contemplate the employment of the German army . . . in the extension of Austro-Hungarian influence on the lower Danube", supported Russia sufficiently to demonstrate the value of

his friendship, and urged upon both the demarcation of their spheres of influence in the Balkans. All in vain, for Austro-Russian relations got steadily worse. Even more ominous, Boulangism grew powerful in France, and when in February and April, 1887, Bismarck assumed a threatening attitude, his plans were checked by the intervention of the Tsar.

So Bismarck set about the "indirect blocking" of Russia. He engineered a secret agreement between Austria, Italy, and England. Italy being bribed by concessions in the Triple Alliance, England by support in the Egyptian question. Then he arranged the secret "reinsurance treaty", which was not communicated to Austria (p. 195), with the deliberate intent of "double-crossing" Russia. Alexander was promised German support for any solution of the Bulgarian question he might propose, but secretly Bismarck was strengthening the Triple Entente, urging Turkey to come to terms with it, and encouraging Ferdinand of Coburg. The famous "Bulgarian documents", pronounced forgeries by Bismarck, were probably genuine in substance, for their purport is confirmed from other evidence. The Tsar, still distrusting France, was helpless; he suspected Bismarck, but could only accept his protestations of friendship and declare that he would never attack Germany, while washing his hands of Boulanger and the Bulgarians.

A glorious victory, on the surface. But Bismarck's speech of February 6, 1888, was a confession of failure: Germany was reduced to defiance of her neighbors, and of the magnificent fabric of 1885 only Austria remained. Alexander felt that he had been duped, and this, not the lapse of the reinsurance treaty, as Bismarck alleged, caused the Franco-Russian alliance. So "Bismarck's diplomacy, at the zenith of his power, contained all the causes of his Empire's downfall" (p. 325).

Professor Fuller rejects, however, the thesis of Hammann that the breach with Russia necessitated co-operation with England. The policy of William II. of neutralizing the Dual Alliance by personal manipulation of Nicholas II. was only the revival of a Continental coalition against England with which Bismarck had played in 1884. But does not this argument overlook one important distinction? Bismarck was indifferent to Russian control of the eastern Balkans, even Constantinople, whereas William II. intended to reserve the Near East for the Central Powers.

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT.

Die Grosse Politik der Europäischen Kabinette, 1871-1914: Sammlung der Diplomatischen Akten des Auswärtigen Amtes . . . herausgegeben von JOHANNES LEPSIUS, ALBRECHT MENDELSSOHN BARTHOLDY, und FRIEDRICH THIMME. Volumes I. to VI., 1871-1890. (Berlin: Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft für Politik und Geschichte. 1922. Pp. xiii, 328; 344; 454; 419; 350; 416.)

Nor content with the invaluable four-volume collection of documents published by Kautsky and his associates on the immediate causes of the

war during the July crisis of 1914, the German government decided to go back to 1871 and publish all the important documents in the German Foreign Office, including Bismarck's most secret instructions and marginalia, which would lay bare the whole course of German diplomacy for more than forty years. The aim is to allow the impartial historian to see what really happened, and to be in a better position to reach a conclusion as to the underlying responsibility for the war. It is a courageous and most praiseworthy decision. The first installment, covering the Bismarck Era, 1871-1890, consists of 6 volumes, 43 chapters, 1365 documents, and 2300 pages, with an index of persons, though not of subjects, at the end of the sixth volume. It is announced that during the present year six more volumes will be published covering the years 1890-1897. Such publication of recent diplomatic secrets which have usually been so jealously guarded in the archives is almost unique in history. It offers a mine of wealth to the historian, and will do much to throw light on dark places and to correct mistaken notions which are current.

In the arrangement of the documents the editors have not followed the austere chronological arrangement which many historians would have preferred, but for the convenience of the reader have grouped the documents somewhat according to subject-matter. Dr. Lepsius edits the documents on the Eastern Question, Professor Mendelssohn Bartholdy those on Anglo-German relations, and Dr. Thimme those on Franco-German relations and the Triple Alliance. But they all assume joint responsibility and declare that no documents of importance have been concealed. We are inclined to believe, judging by the internal evidence and by what we know already from the works of Wertheimer, Pribram, Ballhausen, Hanotaux, Matter, J. V. Fuller, Daudet, Pagès, Monypenny and Buckle, Lady Gwendolen Cecil, and many others, that their declaration is honest and true. Naturally it is quite impossible to print the vast mass of documents in their totality. It would have been too expensive, and would have involved a great deal of useless repetition. Adequate foot-notes, however, give reference to omitted or summarized documents. The editors have also mostly omitted the papers relating to the lesser states of Europe, to America, and to the Far East. As the title suggests, the publication deals mainly with the policy of the great powers of Europe.

The first volume, on the Peace of Frankfurt and its Consequences, 1871-1877, affords some interesting analogies with the present day. It shows the victor ready to make many concessions desired by the vanquished, enabling France to be rid of her indemnity obligations and the German army of occupation several months before the time designated in the treaty. After the severe terms of the peace had been met, France was treated with consideration by Bismarck in the hope that she would be reconciled to the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, but at the same time he took no chances. The German army was kept at high efficiency, and the formation of the League of the Three Emperors was to give Germany diplomatic

protection and to assure the continuance of peace, which was Bismarck's great object after 1871. But this friendly and conciliatory attitude ceased for a moment with the war scare of 1875.

The second volume, on the Congress of Berlin and the events leading up to it, already somewhat familiar from Wertheimer's *Andrássy*, brought Bismarck to one of the most difficult tasks of his career—the preservation of good relations with both Russia and Austria. The policy which he laid down in 1876, and to which he recurred again and again during crises in the Near East, was to preserve peace if possible between his two powerful neighbors in their Balkan rivalry. He favored a line of demarcation of interests allowing Russia preponderance in Bulgaria and Austria preponderance in Serbia. He pretty generally refused Russian insistence that he use pressure at Vienna to make Austria yield. Similarly he was unwilling to use threats at St. Petersburg in the interests of Austria. He preferred to keep a reserved attitude, always aiming to have Russia and Austria settle their differences in a tête-à-tête directly with one another. He disliked the thankless task of mediation between them. He only consented to step in, to preserve the peace of Europe, when Vienna and Petrograd could not come to terms. In the last resort, if their rivalry became irreconcilable and war broke out between them, he might permit one of his neighbors to be defeated in battle, but never to be given a death-blow or lose its independence or cease to exist as a great power. To prevent this he was ready to abandon neutrality and intervene with Germany's army (II. 53 ff., 76 ff.; V. 235; VI. 356 ff.). In his attitude of reserve he was apparently sincere in his hesitation to have the Congress meet at Berlin. He would have preferred Vienna or London, but to these places Russia was absolutely opposed; so, in the interests of peace and after the consent of everyone had been secured, he finally agreed to invite the powers to Berlin. He even told England he was ready to allow Gorchakov to preside at the Congress (II. 227). In spite of his indignation at the Pan-Slavists and the attacks of the Russian press in the decade following the Congress, he still held close to his policy of preserving good relations with both the Tsar and the Emperor of Austria. In contrast to those at the helm in the post-Bismarckian period, he continually warned Austria that Germany would not fight to support Austrian expansion or aggression in the Balkans, and repeatedly took occasion to state that the Dual Alliance of 1879 was defensive, not offensive (IV. 338, 354, 357; V. 8, 11 ff., 26 ff., 35 ff., 62 ff., 136 ff., 149 ff.). With prophetic vision he even warned Austria in 1885 that in supporting Serbia too strongly she might so arouse Serbian ambition that Serbia would some day turn against Austria, claim Serbia Irredenta in the Banat, and deprive Austria of the rights in Bosnia and Herzegovina acquired by the Treaty of Berlin (V. 12).

Volume IV. makes clear how Bismarck supported England in the Egyptian question, for which he was repeatedly thanked by English ministers. This friendly relation continued until 1884, when the British

Foreign Office left unanswered for nearly six months Bismarck's question whether England laid claim to the coast of Southwest Africa. The main features of England's clumsy handling of the question in regard to Angra Pequena—how the Foreign Office referred to the Colonial Office, and the Colonial Office to the government at Cape Town, and how Bismarck meanwhile getting no answer lost patience and hoisted the German flag in Southwest Africa—have long been fairly familiar from three British Blue Books and a couple of German White Books. But the new publication gives an interesting, not to say amusing, account of Lord Granville's embarrassment and of Bismarck's genuine indignation. On June 16, 1884, Herbert Bismarck complained to Lord Granville that Germany still had no answer to the question she had put on December 31 of the preceding year, a question which ought properly to have been answered within three days. Granville replied that he couldn't tell him much about the matter as it belonged to the sphere of his colleague in the Colonial Office, Lord Derby. He offered to fetch Lord Derby and Derby's predecessor, Lord Kimberley, but Herbert Bismarck replied quite properly that he was authorized to deal only with the British Foreign Office and did not care to sit in an English ministerial conference. The next day Granville, somewhat better informed, gave a long explanation and apology for the delay, and added that he hoped the Germans did not intend to proclaim their sovereignty over Southwest Africa but only to act like the British in Borneo. "What flag flies then in North Borneo?" Herbert Bismarck asked. Granville hesitated, begged to be excused for a minute, and disappeared. In a few minutes he returned and remarked that the Borneo Company flew its own flag. Herbert Bismarck replied that such flag questions were *curiosa* which might interest professors of international law, but the German government could not follow such hair-splitting distinctions. The German flag meant German sovereignty. Then he pointed out that an English firm had written to the German consul in Cape Town hoping that a German protectorate would be proclaimed at Angra Pequena. The letter was in the German archives. "That seemed to be news to Lord Granville", reported Herbert;—"like everything else", wrote Bismarck in the margin. Granville again begged to be excused for a little while to investigate his despatch-boxes, but on returning declared that he was not acquainted with the matter; again he regretted the absence of Lord Derby and Lord Kimberley "who might have given you all the particulars". In later conversations Granville kept repeating, "I am afraid that I am guilty of some omission". "We are in a sort of a mess. It is all the fault of the Colonial Office and of Lord Derby, who have talked about the matter without consulting me and giving it due consideration" (IV. 70, 73). He complained to Herbert Bismarck about how new he was to the office, how difficult it was to deal with Parliament, how many hours he had to work, etc.; but, as Herbert Bismarck commented to his father, it never seemed to occur to Granville

to give up his position into more capable hands. Bismarck was particularly indignant at England's attitude in regard to Southwest Africa and the Fiji Islands because he had been supporting England in the Egyptian matter and England seemed to show no spirit of gratitude and reciprocity. That he did not expect the hoisting of the German flag at Angra Pequena to anger England seems to be indicated by the fact that he had instructed Count Münster at this very time to sound the English as to whether they would be willing to cede Heligoland in return for German good-will in Egypt and elsewhere. The friction over colonial questions prevented the cession of Heligoland from taking place at that time. But after some months, better Anglo-German relations were restored and Bismarck succeeded in bringing about an Anglo-Italian understanding in 1887, to which Austria soon adhered (IV. 295 ff.). Much has been written lately about Bismarck's letter to Salisbury in 1887 (IV. 376 ff.) as a "feeler" toward an Anglo-German alliance, but much more interesting and important is his direct suggestion for such an alliance on March 22, 1889 (IV. 405). Owing to the difficulty of getting parliamentary approval Salisbury would not definitely say "yes" or "no", but preferred to "leave it on the table" for the present. Incidentally it is interesting to note that Joseph Chamberlain strongly urged Herbert Bismarck in March, 1889, to exchange German Southwest Africa for Heligoland (IV. 408 ff.), but Salisbury was not quite ready to act, and Bismarck, though favoring it, did not want to press it lest he seem too eager. So for a second time the Heligoland matter was allowed to rest until Emperor William II. and Caprivi took action after Bismarck's fall.

To call Bismarck a pacifist, as a German reviewer of these volumes does, is to misconceive Bismarck's policy or the meaning of the word pacifist. He wanted peace, but it was an armed peace in which Germany was strong and France impotent for *revanche*. He often took an attitude which France regarded (too easily) as a menace. But on the whole, one gets an increasingly strong conviction of Bismarck's sincere desire to preserve the peace of Europe and his remarkable skill in doing so. His despatches show an extraordinary clarity, consistency, and continuity of purpose throughout the period. One rises from a perusal of the volumes with an enhanced admiration for the genius of the Iron Chancellor in contrast to his puny successors. He had a great capacity for understanding the national and selfish interests of the other powers with whom he was dealing, and his strength lies in the fact that he was always ready to give consideration to these interests and make bargains on the basis of them. Except when bargaining, he was pretty generally ready to support the English in Egypt, the French in Tunis and Morocco, the Austrians in the western Balkans, and the Russians in the eastern Balkans. He did not look for trouble. In contrast to his imperial master after 1890, his policy was to avoid interference with the ambitions of other countries except when real German interests or the peace of Eu-

rope were threatened. He sums this up in a phrase which constantly recurs, "Dans le doute, abstiens-toi".

SIDNEY B. FAY.

Woodrow Wilson and World Settlement. Written from his unpublished and personal material by RAY STANNARD BAKER. In three volumes. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Page, and Company. 1922. Pp. xxxvii, 432; xiii, 561; xvii, 508. Vols. I. and II., \$10.00 per set; vol. III., \$10.00.)

As Mr. Baker implies by his title, this book is concerned primarily with President Wilson, and despite the range of Wilsonian interests, it does not pretend to the comprehensive character of the monumental history edited by Mr. Temperley. Its importance, however, is equally great, because of the nature of the materials upon which it is based. Many of the confidential documents now published by Mr. Baker were doubtless known to the contributors to the Temperley volumes, and may have colored their conclusions; but they were prevented by the conventions of European diplomacy from using the text of the documents to enforce their contentions. Mr. Baker has been given a free hand. President Wilson turned over to him all of his papers relating to the Peace Conference, many of which, such as the minutes of the Council of Four and the Council of Ten, as well as various confidential British and French reports, would not in ordinary circumstances have been published for many decades. There is every indication that the author has undertaken his task in a fine scholarly spirit, anxious to eliminate political bias, determined to let the documents speak for themselves. It was inevitable, nevertheless, that his interpretation should be colored by his background, filled with personal associations with Wilson and marked by admiration for the President's ideals. This bias seems to the reviewer less obvious than in the case of some recent works written by scientifically trained historians; but it is sufficient to make of the book an American *apologia*, and raises the question as to whether European students will be content to accept Mr. Baker's conclusions. Those conclusions are, in general, condemnatory of the methods and principles of the European diplomats; in some chapters, notably that dealing with the alleged intrigue against the League of Nations, they seem to the reviewer based upon inadequate evidence.

Mr. Baker regards the Peace Conference, in essence, as a struggle between Mr. Wilson and the adherents of the old diplomatic system. This struggle was marked by certain definite crises: the winning of the League, an American victory; the contests with the French and Italians over territorial claims and the tentative settlement of reparations, all of which were compromised; the struggle with the Japanese, which is regarded by the author as a defeat for American principles. Mr. Baker uses the secret treaties to illustrate the aspirations of the anti-Wilson

côterie at Paris, and it is possible that he rather exaggerates their practical importance. The diplomatic contest which he underlines was inevitable; even had there been no secret treaties, the spirit which informed them would have come into conflict with Wilsonian ideals. The President might have lightened his task by insisting on Allied renunciation of the treaties in the summer of 1918, or later by standing firmly upon the principles of the pre-armistice agreement, which in effect abolished the treaties so far as they contravened the Fourteen Points. Wilson's failure to meet his opponents squarely on such lines, before he became involved in detailed negotiations, is not discussed by the author, nor does he settle definitely the question of Wilson's knowledge of the secret treaties. It is perhaps unnecessary that he should have done so, since Mr. Lippmann, Lord Balfour, and Mr. Hendrick bear indubitable witness to the fact that the President had been informed of their existence. That Wilson, in his conversation with Senator Borah, should have forgotten this is less surprising than might appear at first thought; in view of the mass of information that came to the President, his memory may well have been at fault when he attempted to recall the exact moment that this particular news was brought to his attention. The important matter was not the treaties themselves so much as the aspirations which lay behind them, and these the President appreciated at all times.

Volume III. is a documentary history of the first importance, which even better, perhaps, than the author's text, exposes the attitude and convictions of the different statesmen and their advisers, as well as the secret processes of the Peace Conference. It is a collection of sixty-nine documents, divided into nine main groups corresponding to the chief divisions of the narrative, most of which are now published for the first time. Especially noteworthy are the Inquiry report to President Wilson drafted in December, 1917, and evidently utilized by him in the preparation of the Fourteen Points speech; a memorandum of Admiral Benson upon United States naval policy; General Bliss's letter of March 28, 1919, exposing French manoeuvres in Hungary; a memorandum by Balfour, April 24, 1919, upon the Italian problem, which largely justifies Wilsonian policy. For many reasons the most illuminating document of the collection is the stenographic report of the only general meeting of the American Peace Commission, held June 3, 1919, when British demands for alleviations in the German treaty were discussed. This shows clearly the belief of the American technical advisers that the great danger of the treaty lay in the reparations clauses, and it emphasizes the fruitlessness of the efforts made to secure a definite settlement. It shows also the confusion caused by the mercurial policy of Lloyd George, who at the last moment proved so insistent upon concessions to Germany. "It makes me a little tired", said Wilson, "for people to come and say now that they are afraid the Germans won't sign, and their fear is based upon things that they insisted upon at the time of the writing of the treaty; . . . They ought to have been rational to begin with and then they would

not have needed to have funk'd at the end"; and as an important indication of the President's final attitude toward the treaty: "Though we did not keep them from putting irrational things in the treaty, we got very serious modifications out of them. If we had written the treaty the way they wanted it the Germans would have gone home the minute they read it. Well, the Lord be with us", and so the meeting adjourned.

CHARLES SEYMOUR.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Our Republic: a Brief History of the American People. By S. E. FORMAN. (New York: Century Company. 1922. Pp. xvii, 852. \$5.00.)

THIS volume may serve as a text-book for college classes or as a work for the general reader. It sums up in its 800 pages the outline of American history from Columbus to Harding. In its proportions it emphasizes the national period, giving the larger part of its attention to the growth and development of America as a national people. Fifty pages are devoted to the discoveries and settlements, and to colonial times. These parts are properly struck off in a broad general way with an intelligent and informing treatment. One chapter on Spain in America, one on the coming of the French, English, and Dutch, and one on the colonies at the opening of the eighteenth century, suffice to bring the reader down to the opening of the Revolution. Forty pages are given to the struggle for independence, and then comes a Survey of the Nation in 1783, which means not that there was a "nation" but that the geographical, racial, industrial, educational, and social conditions are brought under review. Such a review of social conditions is made from time to time throughout the volume, as in the chapters on Industrial and Social Progress, 1820-1840, and Prosperity and Progress, 1877-1885. Certain popular and catchy chapter-titles are used for sober themes, such as Building a New Roof (for the Constitutional Convention of 1787), the Roaring Forties, Filling up the West, Five Bleeding Wounds (of 1850), a Raid and a Book (for Brown and Helper), etc. The volume may be said to cover the essential features of our national development, and it is written in a clear and compact style. It is not too wordy or redundant for the information afforded. "Drum and trumpet" history and the history of politics are subordinated to the story of pioneer life, education, invention, labor, farming, and the organization of industry and capital.

In such a volume so compact with facts and with a necessarily brief treatment of large subjects the critical and well-informed student will find many things to which he may take exception. With so much need of space, why, it may be asked, should the author devote a whole paragraph to exchange of telegrams between Bryan and McKinley following the election results of 1896? Or to the lurid and partizan bigotry of the New York *Tribune* in its denunciation of W. J. Bryan? That passage hardly

shows historic poise, though it may be interesting in showing the limits of partizan abuse and blindness. On some controversial subjects the author seems to accept certain traditional views as sound and conclusive. For instance, in showing up the fallacy and danger of free silver coinage, he says: "If a man owed \$100 he could take \$69 in gold, buy silver with it, get it coined into \$100 of silver and pay his debt." This assumes that the man with the silver was a dolt, else why should he sell his silver for \$69 when he could himself have it coined into \$100? The reviewer recalls many silly arguments in that campaign but none quite so silly as this. The author calls the contest of 1896 a "campaign of argument" in which "argument won". There are still doubting Thomases on that point, in view of the large amount of partizan misrepresentation in that campaign and of Mark Hanna's corruption fund. Perhaps a true history, even so short as this, should carry more of an exposé of the political methods of the time as brought to light in subsequent revelations bearing on that notable political combat.

Exception will be taken to accounting for the panic of 1873, and the hard times following, by "over-production", "too much railroad building", and the Chicago and Boston fires. The relation of this panic to the money question and to the Greenback party is not touched upon, and that party itself is mentioned only in a chronological recapitulation. The author speaks of the demand for silver coinage as merely a demand for "doing something for silver", which is hardly an adequate view of the merits of the silver question.

The author seems to make New England resistance to the Fugitive Slave Act spring from the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. He puts Seward's "irrepressible conflict" speech (at Rochester) in 1856, two years too soon. Following the Missouri Compromise the "slavery question slumbered for nearly thirty years", but in ten years the slumber is broken by Garrison and the Abolitionists. Distinctions are not kept clear between different classes of anti-slavery men. The author speaks of all classes of Abolitionists as if they were all Garrisonians, and as "animated with a spirit of lawlessness". They were, rather, the victims of lawlessness; it was not the spirit of lawlessness that led men to resist the Fugitive Slave Act, or that led Garrison and a few of the extremists to repudiate the Constitution and refuse to vote or hold office under it. Many good law-abiding men do that now, for conscience' sake.

It is always possible to point out errors or to say that some other view should be taken or other dispositions should be made of various topics. But a volume is to be judged by its value as a whole. There is a demand for such one-volume histories of the United States. The preparation of one is not an easy task. Facing a thousand topics for treatment, there is chance for many a slip. On the whole, Mr. Forman has executed his difficult task well; and he has given to teachers, students, and the general reader a very useful volume. The volume has a good and extensive series of maps, a good reading list in the appendix, limited references and ex-

tensive notes and chronology at the chapter endings. It is interestingly illustrated, and the index, so far as tested, is adequate and accurate.

JAMES A. WOODBURN.

The Planters of Colonial Virginia. By THOMAS J. WERTENBAKER.
(Princeton: Princeton University Press; London: Humphrey
Milford. 1922. Pp. 260. \$2.50.)

A SERIOUS defect of this valuable and suggestive book lies in its deductive treatment of its subject. Its thesis in a nutshell is, that seventeenth-century Virginia was not a "baronial community"—no trustworthy historian has ever so described it—but a community in which the yeoman was economically, politically, and socially "the most important factor", to quote the author's words. Which is the more incorrect, the baronial theory, or the yeoman theory? Let us test this yeoman theory economically. The seventeenth-century Virginia studied in this volume embraced the narrow area bounded on the north by the lower Rappahannock River; on the west, by a line drawn from Fredericksburg to Richmond, to Petersburg, to Suffolk, to Norfolk; and on the south, by the Carolina line of Princess Anne County. There are to-day hardly twenty small counties and half counties in this area. A view of the whole of it could almost be got from the top of another Washington Monument placed in Richmond; and a fast motor car could traverse it from north to south in five hours, and from west to east in three. And yet in this very small compass, the rent roll of 1704, the basis of Professor Wertenbaker's economic calculations, shows that there were at least 450 families who owned from one thousand acres to ten thousand or more, and 750 families who owned from five hundred acres to one thousand. In each of these small counties, there was an average of twenty families that owned from one thousand acres to ten thousand acres or more, and forty families who owned from five hundred to one thousand. There are very many estates in the roll of 1704 that run from eight thousand acres to fifteen thousand and even to twenty thousand, such, for instance, as the estates of the Byrds, Ludwells, Eppeses, Randolphs, Beverleys, Armisteads, Allens, Harrisons, Pages, Bassetts, and others too numerous to mention. One in every four landowners owned estates that ran all the way from five hundred acres to twenty thousand acres. It should be remembered that this estimate does not embrace the large estates of the Washingtons, Lees, Spencers, Carters, and the like in the Northern Neck. Was the proportion of considerable and large landowners to small landowners (who have always been the most numerous everywhere and in every age) greater in the aristocratic England of that day than it was in the seventeenth-century Virginia? Did these Virginian yeomen's small estates as a whole produce more in bulk than the large landowners' estates as a whole?

Professor Wertenbaker rejects the average patent of the later seventeenth century, which was for 675 acres, as less indicative of the extent

of the land holdings than the county conveyances, which were for small areas. But was not the small county conveyance, in numberless instances, made merely to the large landowner who was buying out his yeomen neighbors in order to secure a wider range for cattle and virgin soil for his tobacco crop, as there were no artificial manures in that day?

As to the yeomen being the most important factor politically, the records prove that it was the gentry who filled the council, the general court, the county courts, the vestries, the pulpits, the clerkships, and every other public office of influence. It was the representatives of the gentry who expelled Harvey, supported Berkeley against Parliament, formed the Long Assembly, and in the person of Bacon led the rebellion of 1676, and after his death suppressed it, who opposed Culpeper's and Effingham's encroachments, and subscribed a fund for the erection of William and Mary College. The roll of the general assembly bristles with the names of all the large seventeenth-century landowners. If any yeoman was conspicuous in any important political movement of that century, his name is not known to us.

The social importance of the yeoman, like his economic, was altogether numerical. He had none in the ordinary sense of the word.

In conclusion, it may be said that, in spite of the slave's substitution for the indentured servant in the eighteenth century, the seventeenth was, in general spirit at least, the eighteenth in embryo. The plantation framework and the economic production were the same, only on a greater scale. The political organization was the same—only distinguished public men were more numerous. The social system was the same—only it was more opulent and brilliant. It is even questionable whether the small landowners were not to the large landowners proportionately as great in number in the eighteenth century as in the seventeenth. Not until the county records of the eighteenth century are fully explored can this question be satisfactorily answered.

PHILIP ALEXANDER BRUCE.

The Evening Post: a Century of Journalism. By ALLAN NEVINS.
(New York: Boni and Liveright. 1922. Pp. 590. \$5.00.)

A NEWSPAPER, like a ship, acquires personality from those who build it and constantly direct and use it as a vehicle; it speaks, it serves, it fights as of itself, and its story is therefore much like biography. But since it touches life more broadly than an individual and perhaps for a much longer span of time, this story may be still more valuable in yielding data to the historian. We are now in the second stage of the historiography of journalism. For many years we were content with general accounts like those of Thomas, of Hudson, and, more recently, of Payne and of Lee. Stimulated by such fare, perhaps, enthusiastic writers have now taken up the stories of the papers one by one, so that for New York alone within the last few years there have appeared as quite separate ventures

histories of the *Sun*, the *World*, the *Times*, and now, best of all, Allan Nevins's *Evening Post*. Soon it will be time to generalize again.

Mr. Nevins properly begins with the political necessities of Alexander Hamilton in 1801, since it was these, and not the cultural or commercial needs of the town, that brought forth the *Evening Post*. But he follows with a chapter on the paper's place in the city of a hundred years ago, which is excellent social history seen through advertisement and editorial comment, for the news columns could almost be neglected, and then one on literature and drama in that period when Halleck and Drake mysteriously supplied Editor Coleman with the papers of "Croaker and Co.," and when the *Post* began serious dramatic criticism in New York. Coleman's successors were Bryant and Leggett. The latter, an earnest, fiery spirit, in his few remaining years made it a crusading paper, but it was the former who gave it balance, dignity, and power for half a century, a remarkable poet who accumulated half a million dollars as a fair and fearless editor. He brought the paper to oppose protection and the national bank, but somewhat later broke with his Democratic party leaders and preached Free Soil and moderate Republicanism until his death in 1878. He and his associate John Bigelow gave the paper a literary and scholarly flavor, as evidenced, for example, by its famous controversy on the editorial misdemeanors of President Jared Sparks; the historian often finds him pioneering in some cause of merit, like those of Central Park, of the modern apartment house, and of international copyright; and "he redeemed as far as one man could do so, the journalism of his early days from the offensive practice of personal discussion".

There is a vivid account of that remote but powerful mugwump, E. L. Godkin, with his deadly parallels, his catechisms, and his vigorous fights against Tammany government, free silver, and imperialism. And there is careful but appreciative mention of the special contributions of many others who as editors of one sort or another have made the *Post* so significant in American journalism. Mr. Nevins is often the historian of the metropolitan press as well as his own paper, especially in dealing with the beginnings of the penny sheets and with the exciting controversies of Civil War days. It is a work notable for good judgment in arrangement and emphasis; it avoids too much quotation, and will be welcomed by every reader for its clear and easy style. It seems in most respects cautious and accurate, though it is not correct to call Charles Pinckney a leader of the South Carolina Federalists in the early years of the nineteenth century (p. 30), or to say that "Until the close of the second war with England, a majority of the people of the city held Hamiltonian views" (p. 33), or to speak of "Tom Paine, dividing his last days, in debt, dirt, and dissipation" (p. 97), as if Dr. Conway had never written his chapter on Paine's personal traits, or to refer to Venezuela as a little republic (p. 473) when it is about three times the size of France, or to claim that in the Guiana boundary contest "the British obtained practically all the territory for which they contended" (p. 474). There are about a

dozen typographical errors, most of which are negligible, though it seems ungracious to represent Coleman and Godkin as both going through life "snuffing new frays from afar" (p. 47).

DIXON RYAN FOX.

John Motley Morehead and the Development of North Carolina, 1796-1866. By BURTON ALVA KONKLE. (Philadelphia: William J. Campbell. 1922. Pp. 15, 437. \$5.00.)

JOHN MOTLEY MOREHEAD, governor of North Carolina from 1841 to 1845, occupies a deservedly prominent place in the history of his state. An eminently practical man, yet possessed of vision, he was a leader in the industrial development of North Carolina which began in the 40's and continued unbroken until the commencement of the Civil War. He was also a firm friend of education and took an active part in the movement which promised so much for the state until it was interrupted by war.

In politics, Governor Morehead was a staunch Whig and an active party man. He was frequently a member of the state legislature, was a delegate to the constitutional convention of 1835, and was enough of a national figure to be chosen to preside over the National Whig Convention of 1848. Up to President Lincoln's call for troops he was a firm Union man and as such was sent as a delegate to the Peace Conference in 1861 but, having followed his state, he was elected a member of the Provisional Congress of the Confederacy.

It was, however, chiefly as an industrial figure—a builder of railroads and factories—rather than in politics that Governor Morehead won an enduring reputation. If he can be said to have possessed statesmanship it was in this field. He caught early the vision of Murphey and Caldwell of a commonwealth rebuilt through improved methods of communication and transportation, through widely diffused prosperity based on industrial development and improved agricultural methods, and through education, and he devoted himself to its practical achievement with so much earnestness that he became easily the most influential single leader in the development of the new system.

The present volume, as indicated by its title, undertakes to tell the story of that development woven around the life of Morehead. Since no exhaustive biography of Governor Morehead has been hitherto prepared, and since that period of the state's history is none too generally known, the opportunity for a real contribution was great. It can scarcely be said that the opportunity has been grasped. The chief value of the volume lies in its gathering together of a great mass of material concerning Morehead's career, including speeches, letters, reports, messages, and newspaper comments. But they are, on the whole, rather poorly digested. The study is in no sense critical biography, but is highly eulogistic and loses strength by its consistent attempt to prove its subject a

greater man and a greater influence than he really was. It is further marred by numerous errors. They are to be found most frequently, perhaps, in the case of names, but they occur as well in the case of inferences and of direct statements. Many of them betray unpardonable carelessness, and there are enough of these to cast suspicion on the accuracy of other statements concerning matters less familiar. The style is singularly turgid and is notable for the frequent employment of awkward phrases, and for the original theory of language structure which it exemplifies. Consequently, it is exceedingly difficult reading and will doubtless serve more as a reference book for the student than as entertainment for the general reader.

J. G. DE ROULHAC HAMILTON.

Life of Roger Brooke Taney, Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court. By BERNARD C. STEINER. (Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins Company. 1922. Pp. 553. \$6.00.)

THIS biography offers something of a paradox. Undertaken as a work of piety (see preface), its chief contribution consists in stripping the eulogistic varnish from the most authentic of the earlier portraits of its hero, and in touching the picture up with a number of unflattering details. Nor was the subject of the work himself without an element of paradox. A valetudinarian from early years, Roger Brooke Taney yet managed, by hard work and excessive tobacco smoking, to keep the spark of life flickering some eighty-seven years—his birth having occurred within a few months after the Declaration of Independence and his death within a few months of Lee's surrender. More interesting still is the apparent contradiction between his infinite taste for the nicest punctilios of official behavior and the charge of official brutality which rests against his name in connection with the two most conspicuous acts of his life, the removal of the deposits in September, 1833, and the Dred Scott decision.

Here is a puzzle not without interest, and Professor Steiner makes considerable progress toward clearing it up. Neither of the famous episodes referred to was a bolt from the clear sky. Though so decorous, Taney nevertheless inherited from his father a streak of wild Irish fanaticism, and this had already been enlisted on the side of the state banks before he entered Jackson's Cabinet; and the germ of the famous dictum in *Scott v. Sanford*, that the negro had "no rights which the white man was bound to respect", is to be found in a decision which he had rendered on circuit seventeen years earlier (p. 455). Even so, one concludes with the feeling that ambition and intellect overmatched moral energy in Taney's make-up, and that he may not be altogether relieved of an odious suspicion of serviceability at times to men of more resolute purpose than himself.

Notwithstanding the intrinsic interest of most of its content, Professor Steiner's volume is far too long. The pages bristle with details which

reveal little or nothing of Taney's character, his point of view, or the real measure of his public services. On the other hand, the task of interpretation and synthesis has been oftentimes quite neglected, or still more often thrust upon the shoulders of others. Indeed, the work is less a biography than a somewhat orderly collection of materials for one.

Of minor criticisms the following may be noted. The view adopted on page 131 that, in case of irreconcilable difference of opinion between the President and a Cabinet officer, "the will of the President must prevail" is much too sweeping (see *Kendall v. U. S.*, 12 Peters 524; also pp. 119 and 153 of present volume). Taney did not, in his opinion in the *Wheeling Bridge* case, push "the doctrine of the silence of Congress to a dangerous excess" (p. 306), but declined to give that doctrine its due effect. The statement on page 342, made on the authority of Rhodes, that "the characters of Buchanan and Taney are proofs that 'the import of the decision' [in the *Dred Scott* Case] was not communicated by the Chief Justice to the President elect" is misleading. While Taney did not communicate with the President elect on this subject, Catron and Grier both did (pp. 338, 340). Taney's statement in his opinion in *Scott v. Sanford* that a non-naturalized foreigner may vote in a state by virtue of its law, so far from being "remarkable" (p. 352; see also pp. 373-374), asserts what is still the fact (*Minneapolis v. Reum*, 56 Fed. 576). Justice Curtis's position on the question of jurisdiction in this case is stated erroneously on pages 361 to 363, but the error is apparently corrected a page later. The question of the right of Virginia and Maryland to forbid the importation of slaves did not arise under the Constitution of the United States but under their own constitutions (p. 370). Six justices, not four, held the Missouri Compromise void, Campbell and Daniel being the names omitted from the list on page 372. Taney's opinion in *Ableman v. Booth* is not irrefragable proof that he was not "a States rights man" (p. 428), the opinion having been concurred in by justices of the extremest sect of this school. Not Grier but Nelson wrote the dissenting opinion in the Prize Cases, Grier indeed being the spokesman for the majority on this occasion.

Of Taney's outstanding decisions, those in the *Charles River Bridge* case, the case of the *Genesee Chief*, *Ableman v. Booth*, and *ex parte Merryman* deservedly receive Professor Steiner's warmest commendation. The praise, however, which he awards to Taney's protest of February, 1863, against the taxation of judicial salaries by a general income tax is excessive (pp. 508, 509). There is no good reason why a judge should not pay the same taxes as other people. However, it is to be noted that the scruple which Taney entertained against a judicial proceeding to determine the question has since been got comfortably over, and in consequence of the recent decision in *Evans v. Gore* (253 U. S. 245), federal judges are exempted from some of the pecuniary burdens of citizenship.

EDWARD S. CORWIN.

The Party Battles of the Jackson Period. By CLAUDE G. BOWERS.
(Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1922.
Pp. xxi, 506. \$6.00.)

THE purpose of the author has been to deal "with the brilliant, dramatic, and epochal party battles and the fascinating personalities" of the Jackson period. Party battles are to him the struggle of leaders, and they usually partake of the character of personal encounters. Votes, either in Congress or at the polls, are relatively unimportant. So also, public debate and private utterance, except as they serve to reveal personalities. Naturally, then, policies involving the public lands, the removal of Indians, and expenditures upon internal improvements are subordinated. Even the tariff issue appears as primarily a struggle for power, and the nullification controversy almost wholly so. Best of all, the attempted renewal of the charter of the United States Bank and the subsequent removal of the government deposits from that bank enable the author to develop his theme; it is, for this portion of the story, "*Jackson v. Biddle*". But such an emphasis upon leaders does not prevent him from asserting that the parties of the period were actuated by "well defined antagonistic principles and policies". Nor does he mean thereby the parties as they appear in the official record of the votes or in campaign platforms. He refers rather to the cleavage in the electorate between the men who had "the interests and prejudices and hero-worship of the voters of the cornfield and the village" and those who were primarily interested in an efficient government, as judged by its relation to the private business of the country, and its appeal to the "aristocracy of intellect and culture".

This suggests the flavor of the writing, and the trend of the book. It is written with a favoring eye upon Isaac Hill, Amos Kendall, and Thomas Hart Benton, indeed upon all of those who identified their cause with that of the "sons of toil". Jackson is the hero of the tale, although Mr. Bowers is not blind to the prejudices and shortcomings of either the President or his subordinates. Great weight is given to the account of Benton and the explanations of Van Buren; considerable reliance is put upon the records kept by Tyler and J. A. Hamilton; far less regard is paid to the materials of Clay, Calhoun, Webster, and Adams, although great use is made of them, as also of the diary of Philip Hone, and the letters of Mrs. Samuel Harrison Smith. It is by his selection of materials that Mr. Bowers has presented a view of the period that differs at many points from the previous accounts. The book is distinguished also by its selection of dramatic incident, and the great space given to pen-pictures of the less well-known leaders, including John Forsyth and John M. Clayton. Yet despite the very modern chapter-titles, for example, the Rising of the Masses, the Red Terror and the White, the Battle of the Gods, and Political Hydrophobia, the story of these eight years is of course the familiar one, and the outstanding episodes are those appearing in all accounts.

It is from the widely known printed materials, including the *Autobiography* of Martin Van Buren, but not including monographs such as Cole's *The Whig Party in the South*, and McCarthy's *The Anti-Masonic Party*, that the author has taken his information. He has not used the manuscripts in the Library of Congress. He refers only twice to manuscripts, in both cases to letters of John Forsyth. He has used extensively the *Washington Globe* and the *National Intelligencer*, but not the *United States Telegraph*. Apparently he did not know of the *Correspondence of John C. Calhoun*. He has drawn most often upon printed autobiography, memoir, diary, and correspondence. His choice of biography is marked. He cites Jenkins's *Calhoun*, and also Von Holst's, but not Hunt's. He has not drawn greatly upon the resources of the historical societies, nor consulted the historical reviews. There are instances where he gives greater weight to a memoir than he does to a contemporary account. His foot-notes are frequently incomplete.

Mr. Bowers did not undertake to add to our knowledge of the Jackson period by the presentation of new materials. He proposed to present his own interpretation of events and of persons that fascinated him. His book will interest and fascinate many readers. Those who wish to go deeper will go to the monographs and manuscripts, and will themselves wish to evaluate the contemporary gossip which has given so much color to this account.

EDGAR E. ROBINSON.

History of Oregon. By CHARLES HENRY CAREY. (Chicago and Portland: the Pioneer Historical Publishing Company. 1922. Pp. 1016.)

THE author of this book is a learned lawyer of scholarly tastes and literary accomplishments. The portion of the book which is marked most unmistakably by the characteristics of his own pen is in a style not always simple but invariably dignified and often distinguished.

The work may be divided into two unequal and dissimilar parts. First, we have the early romantic period of Northwestern history terminated by the organization of the territory of Oregon. Second, the—as here conceived—more pedestrian or commonplace history of the development of the state of Oregon down to present times. Thirty-one chapters are assigned to the first part, thirteen to the second; and, while on the basis of the relative number of pages, 496 and 400 respectively, the disparity of interest does not seem so great, still a reading of the book will show, I think, that at least three-fourths of the author's personal interest was lavished upon the early period. That part was actually *written*, while much of the balance bears indubitable evidence of having been *compiled* by other hands, and some of the compilation gives an impression of the materials having been considerably diluted to fill a prescribed amount of space. Yet, much of the material thus assembled is both interesting and valuable.

Thus the real contribution to Oregon history is found in the first part. Mr. Carey has been a discriminating student of the dramatic episodes and mooted questions with which early Northwestern history fairly bristles. About these he writes with a firm, clear hand, as one who has been not merely a critical reader of other men's conclusions, but also as to some features a genuine investigator. And he gives us a well-rounded story. Beginning with a somewhat concise description of the land itself, he presents next a sympathetic account of the original inhabitants and then plunges into the history of discovery. The era of the fur-trader, the Nootka Sound controversy, the voyage of Captain Vancouver, the Boston Men, Gray's discovery, and John Ledyard constitute the themes of a second distinctive group of chapters. A third deals with Jefferson, the Lewis and Clark expedition, and Astoria. The fourth group of chapters deals with the British fur companies, the reign of Dr. McLoughlin, also American fur-traders and mountain men. The fifth group notes pre-missionary influences, the missionary settlement, the Whitman martyrs. The concluding cycle of chapters is on the beginnings of government and the determination of the boundaries, the last chapter being a compendious essay of forty-four pages.

In the portion of the book just described, Judge Carey has demonstrated his right to be counted among the historians. His plan is comprehensive, his research apparently adequate. The treatment accorded diverse topics discloses a good sense of perspective and a discriminating historical judgment.

Slight errors could no doubt be found, were that type of criticism deemed worth while. But, on the whole, considering its extent, the volume (in the portion under review) seems singularly free from such blemishes. One must, however, query the statement (p. 357), that Whitman's "choice of the southern route alone had made his trip at that season possible". Also, I am aware of no evidence to support the observation (p. 364) that Whitman announced his intention to return in the spring and aid in piloting the immigration. The author cites no evidence for this statement; and some other statements likely to cause comment are left unsupported. Yet, the book is far more carefully documented than is usual with works of this nature. Herein the author reveals his legal and juristic habit of mind.

Mr. Carey declines responsibility for certain volumes of biographies which are to be published in conjunction with this book, the whole to be sold apparently on the subscription plan.

The Bozeman Trail: Historical Accounts of the Blazing of the Overland Routes into the Northwest, and the Fights with Red Cloud's Warriors. By GRACE RAYMOND HEBARD and E. A. BRINSTOOL, with Introduction by General CHARLES KING, U. S. V. In two volumes. (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1922. Pp. 346; 306. \$12.50.)

THESE two sizable volumes have more antiquarian than historical value. Perhaps as a consequence of joint authorship the book contains an odd mixture of blood-and-thunder scenario stuff and commonplace history, interspersed with the *membra disjecta* of a charming diary, and topped off with a series of rather verbose pioneer reminiscences.

The first half of volume I. is devoted to retelling the story of the discovery and use of those portions of the Oregon and Overland trails within Wyoming. In preparing this the authors have drawn heavily on such books as Root and Connelley, *The Overland Stage*, and Forsyth, *The Story of the Soldier*, making random acknowledgment in the foot-notes. More emphasis is laid on the early history of the central trails than on the years immediately preceding the opening of the Bozeman route. In fact the entire period from 1846 to 1860 is given very scant consideration. After a chapter on Fort Laramie, made up of descriptive excerpts culled from the best-known Western narratives, the authors proceed to a somewhat confused discussion of the Indian wars of 1863 to 1865. There is a rather loose regard for chronology, and through considerable backing and filling the reader is informed on page 132, on page 137, and again on page 142, that "these were the conditions" that prevailed when General Dodge assumed command. The difficulties encountered during these years in keeping the telegraph lines in repair are well illustrated in the extracts from Sergeant Pennick's diary. It is a pity that this interesting document is not printed as a unit instead of being chopped into fragments to substantiate the authors' points. Volume I. concludes with an account of the Powder River Expedition, the construction of Fort Phil Kearny, and the Fetterman disaster. A rather close reliance on the Carrington narratives results in a somewhat myopic view of the Sioux campaigns. There is a failure to grasp the real significance of the Indian fights of the 'sixties, or to appraise the Connor campaign and its contribution to Carrington's difficulties.

An interesting and useful account of the economic and strategic reasons that led to the survey and construction of the Bozeman Trail, begun in volume I., is continued in volume II. To those with a penchant for the purely antiquarian side of such matters, the itinerary worked out with the assistance of Mrs. Garber of Big Horn, Wyoming, ought to prove interesting. The remainder of the second volume is devoted to incidents in the struggle to maintain communication between Fort Laramie and the Montana gold-fields over the Bozeman route. There is an account of John Phillips's ride and several pioneer reminiscences of the wagon-box fight and of events at Forts Phil Kearny, Reno, and C. F. Smith. To the reviewer the advisability of publishing at such length and in book form this series of reminiscences, most of which cover pretty much the same ground, seems questionable. Rather, they are the sort of narratives that seem to belong more properly in the *Collections* of state historical societies. The second volume concludes with chapters on Red Cloud and Jim Bridger. There is an Afterword which scores the government for its

alleged abandonment of the Bozeman Trail by the treaty of 1868. An understanding of the real significance of the transcontinental railroad, however, and of the influences at work to hasten the completion of the Union Pacific, might have modified the judgment expressed on this point.

Unfortunately, the book contains some misleading and inaccurate statements. The leaders of the Sioux and the Arapahoe did not accept a "proposition of a united war" in December, 1864 (I. 129-130). The Blackfoot Indians were not annually driven north from the Missouri River to beyond the Yellowstone (I. 155). Speaking of the mining rush to Montana, it is more courteous than correct to say "the class of people who came to Montana were respectable and law-abiding, the usual rough and tumble population incident to the finding of gold was not conspicuous" (I. 206). Old Fort Bridger was not on the Union Pacific Railroad (I. 94). The South Pass is referred to as a "rift" in the Rocky Mountains (I. 32) and as a "wide passageway" (I. 37). The failure of the Indians to attack Fort Phil Kearny after the Fetterman massacre is attributed (I. 343) to the character of Indian warfare, which avoided direct assault on fortifications, but later (II. 15) to the severity of the weather which thwarted the Sioux, who, according to the authors, "felt that it would be a matter of hours only before the balance of the already-depleted force behind the log stockade would be in their power". There are a number of inaccurate quotations, especially from Carrington's *Army Life on the Plains*, page 148 of which is misquoted in volume I., page 308, and page 153 in volume I., page 311. Proper names are frequently misspelled: Charbounneau for Charbonneau (I. 31, note); Villiard for Villard (I. 67); Mullen for Mullan (I. 209 and *passim*); Virginia River for Virgin River (I. 29). On page 34 of volume I. a foot-note seems to have been lifted bodily from another book and to have been given a curious misinterpretation. Perhaps the most striking shortcoming is the deplorable English that characterizes those portions of the volumes contributed by the authors. The book is full of such passages as the following: "To the southwest the company headed itself . . ." (I. 31). "Hiding in ravines, secreted in depressions, concealed behind trees in the heavy timber in the mountains to the west of the fort, prowling around partially-constructed buildings, killing both the guarded and unguarded soldier, scalping the more venturesome civilian, and slaughtering the careless emigrant, were the red man's daily programs, making difficult and dangerous the protection of the men in occupations necessary for the construction of fortifications, not to mention the lives of the women and children, who were hard to teach of the dangers for those who dared to go beyond the stockade" (I. 291, 292). "Constant attempts were made by the Indians to capture the supply wagons, and heroism was constantly alert . . ." (II. 143).

The volumes are pleasingly illustrated with original contemporary drawings, many of them hitherto unpublished. The most interesting are those of the overland telegraph stations by Bugler Moellman. One of the

authors contributed several ground plans of forts and two maps. There is an introduction by General Charles King and an excellent index.

The high traditions of a distinguished press are well maintained in the physical make-up of the volumes.

H. C. DALE.

Americans in Eastern Asia: a Critical Study of the Policy of the United States with reference to China, Japan, and Korea in the 19th Century. By TYLER DENNETT. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1922. Pp. xvi, 725. \$5.00.)

THIS book serves as a supplement to Hosea Morse's *International Relations of China* and a companion volume to Professor Treat's *Japan and the United States*, but in its fresh and human point of view and its consideration of facts studied anew from the sources it commands attention as a work of the first importance. Mr. Dennett's main contention is that of the new school of writers who find that the states of Asia have been mistreated alike by all Western nations, that something in the nature of atonement is demanded from the conscientious historian. "The exultant, complacent boaster of his nation's virtue," he declares, "whatever the nation, will not find this a satisfying source-book, not if he reads it through to the end. Each nation, the United States not excepted, has made its contribution to the welter of evil which now comprises the Far Eastern Question."

In this garb of penitential gray he proceeds to unfold the whole story of American intercourse with China and Japan. Fairness in estimating the value of his strictures upon the "ineptitude" of certain periods of American diplomacy in the Far East is primarily a matter of scale. We have to remember that the United States of 1800 to 1840 was about as important in the family of nations as the Chile of to-day, that her valid resources and her training in the conduct of international relations were relatively even less. There was nothing ignoble in her merchants' accepting the customary privileges wrung from Chinese authorities by the British, nor does Mr. Dennett censure American conduct under these circumstances. His perfectly justified condemnation is reserved for the alacrity with which American ships seized the opportunity for smuggling after the English had been put out of action by Lin's destruction of the opium and stoppage of their trade. His chapter on the American share in the opium scandal is a mortifying revelation of cupidity under the lure of the tempter, candidly set forth.

So far as the American government was concerned its attitude was honorably defined in the Cushing treaty of 1844, which forbade opium carrying, though "it never assumed any responsibility to prevent or punish such violations unless complaint was brought by the Chinese, and such action the Chinese were very reluctant to take". The obvious reason, if not excuse, for this discrepancy between principle and enforce-

ment is to be sought in the absorption of all Americans during this half-century in affairs at home. Where the support of popular concern is wanting it is idle to expect prosperous issues in the conduct of any democracy. The real weakness of this predicament is manifest, as the author points out, not so much in policy as in the selection of representatives abroad fit to maintain and develop it. The exigencies of American politics bring incompetent secretaries to the State Department and ministers to their legations, with results prejudicial to national dignity and interests. Mr. Dennett's disclosure of the effect in one part of the world of our haphazard system of diplomatic appointments is helpful, if only as a concrete exhibition of the futility of our methods in diplomacy everywhere. But, apart from the ills inherent in the employment of inexperienced agents, it does not appear that the United States merits all the odium implied in his accounts of our dealings with China and Japan. American disinterestedness has been fairly maintained in many occasions besides those he mentions. Our willingness to credit the good faith of a hostile and defeated court in sending an unguarded legation to Peking in 1859 for the exchange of treaty ratifications was at once more reasonable and more courageous than is commonly understood; it is an instance of our living up to our convictions; another is Burlingame's rebuke to a missionary who suggested that advantage be taken of the T'ai-p'ing strangle-hold on the town of Ningpo; still another is seen in the tone of Gresham's reply to Prince Kung's appeal for intervention during the war with Japan—that it could only be offered if acceptable to both parties—which might be contrasted with the note of Russia, Germany, and France to Japan six months later. Other illustrations come to mind, not to confute the author's wholesome proposal to declare the truth, however unpalatable, but to indicate that the evidence in the case is incomplete until blame and praise have both been computed.

Mr. Dennett's major premise holds that America's policy in Asia, unlike that of other powers, has been an accretion built up by its representatives there, by its Secretaries of State, and by Congress. Far from degenerating into opportunism this policy has in general been consistently maintained, by insisting upon most-favored-nation treatment from both Asiatic and Western governments, and irregular only in the adoption of methods for its execution. Of two practicable means for advancing this purpose, seizing territory or co-operating with others to preserve treaty privileges, the latter inevitably commends itself to a people that virtually control a continent. So Burlingame's device of working in harmony with the major powers of Europe for sharing the economic development of backward Asia without destroying its autonomy became the safeguard procedure of seventy years. Whether Mr. Dennett makes good his point that this policy is the direct outgrowth of Cushing's most-favored-nation doctrine admits of some disputation, but he is right in holding that it led to the more famous open-door proposal of Hay and that the corollary of this was "the policy of promoting an Asia strong enough to be its

own door-keeper". There have been bad moments and ministers inadequate to the task of supporting this doctrine against indifference at home and jealousies abroad, but we may conclude without self-righteousness that in attitude and action the record of the United States in the Far East, whether it be called benevolent or only beneficent, compares favorably with that of any nation.

The book is provided with competent references to source-materials and is remarkably free from errors. A few statements occur that might be disputed, such as the contention that Ward was "clearly outside his rights in his intentions to go to Peking", and the credit given to Rockhill's assertion that carts supplied to the Americans on this journey floated pennants with the words "Tribute Bearers" over them. The two interpreters of the expedition were entirely competent to see that no such humiliating flags were in evidence.

F. W. WILLIAMS.

The McKinley and Roosevelt Administrations, 1897-1909. By JAMES FORD RHODES, LL.D., D.Litt. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1922. Pp. x, 418. \$4.00.)

THIS is a political history. The interest that Mr. Rhodes in his earlier writings showed in economic and social matters, an interest that was always kept under excellent control, is here suppressed. Politics and diplomacy form his theme, and though the coal strikes, free silver, and railroad control are conceded by him to be causes of political action, they are not treated as interesting and instructive on their own account. One looks in vain for recognition of the revolution in habit of life that has taken place in the United States since 1895.

It is political history of a high order. Connected by marriage with Mr. Hanna, and by literary reputation with everyone else worth knowing, Mr. Rhodes has had personal acquaintance with most of the characters of his period. Throughout the McKinley and Roosevelt administrations he was a national figure among historians. Never quite so venerable and imposing as Bancroft was in Washington society during the 'seventies and 'eighties, he was none the less properly famous for his accomplishment. The first three volumes of his *History of the United States since the Compromise of 1850* were out before McKinley was inaugurated, and were written with such moderation and wealth of understanding that none hesitated to trust him, or to inform him upon matters closed to the ordinary run of men. His judgment, trained in the sound discipline of unremitting labor, kept him always in the cooler realms of thought. We should be well served if every distinguished man were thus to write a history of his own times.

There is no visible purpose in this new volume but to show the facts and judge them. Less than in his earlier volumes does he let the facts tell their own story. He continually turns aside from the facts them-

selves to let some distinguished participant, or brother historian, give the gloss upon them. No simple theme, like that which dominated his great work, is apparent here. Mr. Rhodes has not seen any constructive unity in the years he covers. Instead of making a synthesis that would of itself lead the reader to a clearer understanding of American history since the first Bryan campaign, he has developed his topics paragraph by paragraph, with often abrupt transition from theme to theme. He is in a way sorting the materials that some future historian will need to use.

Few of his paragraphs are based upon the serious investigations that enrich his larger book. The *Nation* remains his guide, though its historical value diminished rapidly after 1895. He has read with discrimination the unusual list of biographies and autobiographies now available for his years, but he does not seem to have inquired why these have been written, or to have suspected that a flood of autobiography may mean one generation that fears to be misjudged by the next. We have had a revolution in ethics as well as in manners, but he does not show it. He has checked the biographies often with personal knowledge, but less frequently with the official documents. His debt to Thayer, Bishop, and Olcott is very great.

This volume appears as an independent work, with no reference to indicate that a monument of eight great volumes precedes it. It thus evades the comment that it is not drawn to the same scale, or built with the same tools.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

The Life and Letters of Walter H. Page. By BURTON J. HENDRICK.

In two volumes. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Page, and Company. 1922. Pp. x, 436; viii, 437. \$10.00 for set.)

WALTER HINES PAGE was a North Carolinian, a Southerner who felt in his boyhood the blight of Sherman's sword, a nationalist greatly stirred in early middle life by the issues and campaigns of Grover Cleveland, and a man of letters who proved to be one of the keenest and most thoughtful of editors. Disappointed in the failures of Grover Cleveland, he turned to Roosevelt during that leader's presidency and became one of the enthusiastic "big Americans" as against the idea of "little Americans" involved in the Democratic agitation against imperialism. Page thought the United States might properly "clean up" large parts of the barbaric world and annex backward peoples for the good of backward peoples. He was enthusiastic, self-confident, and ambitious, but perhaps not what men call a wise man.

As editor of the *Forum*, Page induced Professor Woodrow Wilson to write for its pages as early as 1893; as editor of the *Atlantic* he again gave Wilson plenty of space, and Wilson made use of it in several notable articles. When Bryce's *American Commonwealth* came out, Page became

an enthusiastic friend and admirer of that gifted Englishman. With Cleveland for a friend, Wilson an intimate, on the best of terms with Bryce and ever close to Roosevelt, Walter Page had many chances to see the world in the making and he doubtless received many of those letters which it delights the historian to see in print. But this series does not include any letters from Cleveland or Roosevelt. It fails also to offer many of the letters written to him by North Carolina friends to whom he probably poured out his heart from time to time as to no others. Aside from a remarkable group of letters from President E. A. Alderman of the University of Virginia, these volumes give almost exclusively the correspondence of Page, President Wilson, and Colonel House. The fullest and frankest of these are from Page himself. Colonel House wrote many characteristic and confidential accounts of diplomatic relations; and Wilson wrote now and then rather more fully than presidents are wont to write. There are some valuable letters to Arthur Page, the ambassador's son, and some to Frank H. Doubleday, his business associate; but it is plain that the purpose of the editor of these volumes was to treat rather exhaustively the one great diplomatic problem of Wilson's administration—the treatment of the Great War and finally American participation in that struggle.

There was probably no abler diplomatic representative of the United States in Europe during the whole period than the ambassador to Great Britain. And it happened that he was the intimate personal friend, as I have indicated, of the President. But long before the outbreak of the German war, Page had strained the relations of many years by his impetuous and ambitious recommendations about Mexico and Latin America in general. Before Wilson indicated what his attitude toward Mexico would finally be, Page wrote that he would outdo the British in their diplomatic courtesy, engage them in an ambitious scheme to clean up backward countries and make use of "the British fleet, the British empire and the English race for the betterment of mankind"—"and you know", he wrote to House, "that would mean *the leadership of the world*" (I. 190-191), *i.e.*, American leadership.

Not to allow the least doubt of his attitude in the President's mind, Page soon gave formal expression to his purpose in a memorandum which Colonel House laid before his chief. It runs in part: "It's mere police duty that all great nations have to do—as they did in the case of the Boxer riots in China. . . . Investments would be safer, governments [in the backward parts of the world] more careful and orderly. . . . It's merely using the English fleets and ours to make the world understand that the time has come for orderliness and peace and for the honest development of backward and turbulent lands and peoples" (I. 195). This plan had apparently become Page's passion before the end of 1913, and there is evidence that tends to show that the British government was backing the ambassador. There was in fact a campaign conducted from London, and strongly supported in the industrial cities of the United States, to compel

Wilson to intervene in Mexico. A philosophic American might ask how did this differ from the German *Drang nach Osten*.

On October 27, 1913, Wilson made an abrupt end to the campaign in his famous Mobile address in which he said that economic exploitation of weaker peoples, in so far as he was concerned, was at an end. He told Latin Americans that he hoped they would maintain order and meet their honest obligations, but he would not be a party to any ignoring of governments and courts in contests about loans and interest. And he then proposed his Pan-American association, which quickly came to be an entente between the United States and the so-called A B C powers. To Page he wrote from Pass Christian on January 6, 1914: "I long, as you do, for an opportunity to do constructive work all along the line in our foreign relations, particularly with Great Britain and the Latin American states." The letter went on in the most friendly but positive way to inform the ambassador that he, Wilson, must initiate policies and make decisions. In this respect the letter reminds one of Lincoln's famous note to Secretary Seward at the beginning of the Civil War. Page had complained bitterly of Mr. Bryan, the secretary of state. Wilson merely replied that he would try to see that Page should be better informed of events in the future. But the President wrote in the most affectionate terms. Only Page was possessed of the Roosevelt doctrine known as the "big stick" diplomacy, while Wilson was enunciating the ideal of self-determination of peoples, which was to give the world a new inspiration a few years later.

In line with the Wilson ideal, Colonel House and Page next busied themselves with a scheme to persuade Germany to abandon her warlike purposes, her *Drang nach Osten*. It was May and June, 1914. After proper preliminaries House went to Berlin. He heard much of war and the shining sword. He went to Paris, where he said there was apparently no thought of war. Then he spent a week in London where neither he nor Page could interest the Asquith government in the venture, a sort of American, English, French, and German entente on the subject of war and economic imperialism. House thought a little later that he might have brought the four great countries to abandon their military-naval rivalries. Perhaps Wilson received the impression that the English thwarted House. At any rate the letters present the case admirably; and the fact that Wilson and his agents were doing what they could and that the United States had definitely refused to enter upon schemes of Mexican exploitation certainly gave the country a fine record and ample reason to upbraid Germany when the terrible day came.

The great struggle of Page with Wilson came in 1915-1916, when he devoted himself heart and soul to leading Wilson to adopt the cause of the Allies in the Great War. The major part of the second volume of letters treats of this struggle and its aftermath, the intense and exhausting work of Page at the British capital during the years of German air-raids and submarine attacks. In the end Page lost his life in the cause, broken

and absolutely worn out before the armistice. There are few more sorrowful cases in American history than just this long campaign of the ardent ambassador to convert his chief and his country to the point of view he held so firmly. But Page showed himself in this, as he had done in the case of Mexico in 1913, less of a diplomat than a great and ardent soul, wholly converted to the cause he had espoused. Wilson on his side showed a Roman virtue in refusing to follow the lead of his fine friend until he felt that every peaceful means had been tried and his country politically made ready for the great departure.

In spite of the facts in the case, the divided character of the American people, the general popular opposition to war, and the delicacies of a national political campaign, Page visited Wilson late in the summer of 1916, intending perhaps to resign, if he failed to win the President to his view. Page went to Washington at the request of the President; the President did not mention the London problem. He visited the State Department; the State Department was silent. He talked to members of the Cabinet; but they gave him no hint. Washington was as still as one of Cooper's forest scenes. Page wrote of his visit: "the great lesson in this is the lamentable failure of the President really to lead the nation. . . . The President dominates the whole show in a most extraordinary way. The men about him are very nearly all very, very small fry, or worse—the narrowest twopenny lot I've ever come across. He has no real companions. Nobody talks to him freely and frankly. I've never known quite such a condition in American life."

In spite of it all, the ambassador was asked to visit Wilson at Shadow Lawn late in September. He presented a formal appeal for American intervention on behalf of the Allies. He showed the President the German medal struck in commemoration of the sinking of the *Lusitania*. "But that did not impress him. . . . He [Wilson] described the war as a result of many causes, some of long origin. He spoke of England's having the earth and of Germany wanting it. Of course, he said, the German system is directly opposed to everything American." The editor of the *Letters* says: "It was an exceedingly trying experience for both men. . . . As he rose to say good-by to the President, he put his hand upon his shoulder. At this Mr. Wilson's eyes filled with tears and he gave Page an affectionate good-by. The two men never met again" (II. 188).

Another diplomat might have grasped the full meaning of this interview. Not so Page, who never could hold the great problems involved in the President's policy in proper and objective balance. To him, living in London and wholly converted to the idea that no blame attached to the French or the English policies that had led to the war, there was no proper weighing of the case. In view of the differences of the two men, it is highly honorable in both that there was no break and that they parted with moistened eyes and hearty handshakes. Moreover a public breach might have been a most grave matter.

These volumes are filled with descriptions of this sort. They are written as only Walter Page could write. And they are well edited. One cannot but lament that there are so few letters; and it is clear all through the context that there is a vast Page correspondence awaiting the historian.

WILLIAM E. DODD.

Life and Letters of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. By OSCAR DOUGLAS SKELTON. In two volumes. (Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1921. New York: Century Company. 1922. Pp. 485, 576. \$8.00 for the two.)

Laurier: a Study in Canadian Politics. By J. W. DAFOE. (Toronto: Thomas Allen. 1922. Pp. 182. \$1.25.)

DURING the lifetime of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Sir John Willison published in 1903 a well-written biography in two volumes, *Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Liberal Party*. More than one collection of his speeches was published, but all of them are incomplete. Before he died in 1919 he placed his papers in the custody of Professor O. D. Skelton. The resultant biography is in a clear and pleasant, if rather rigid, style, and is an excellent piece of work. Unfortunately, however, Mr. Skelton sees events wholly from Laurier's point of view and forgets the historian in the partizan. This onesidedness is found especially when he touches political issues in the Canadian West and in the latter days of the Great War. Mr. Skelton's defects are corrected by Mr. Dafoe. He is the editor of the *Manitoba Free Press* of Winnipeg, one of the two or three most influential daily newspapers in Canada, a Liberal, long a follower of Laurier, and one who moved in the inner circles of Canadian politics. His little volume is really a review of the larger work and contains its needed corrective. Those who read both will get an adequate view of the work of the Liberal leader.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier was leader of the Liberal party for the unbroken period of thirty-one years. He was wholly French, of ancestry native to Canada for the previous two hundred years. The lad, born in 1841, in the obscure village of St. Lin, near Montreal, was trained largely by priests in an atmosphere completely French. English he learned chiefly from books and he always spoke it with a slight foreign accent. He read the Latin classics, and in after years Horace and Catullus were often his holiday companions. Laurier had the finished manners of the grand seigneur. In the rough and tumble of a long political life, no one ever saw him lack dignity or heard from him an unworthy utterance. After a short career as a lawyer in Montreal, struggling not only with poverty but with ill-health, he settled in the country at Arthabaska, content with an income which in his best days hardly reached five thousand dollars a year. The lure of letters and of politics divided his mind, but politics won. In 1874 he became a member of the federal Parliament at Ottawa, where he remained for the rest of his life. During the last forty years

he sat for one constituency, Quebec East. After 1878 the Liberal party was in opposition, and in 1887 Laurier succeeded Mr. Edward Blake as leader. His subsequent career is divided into three periods: the struggle during nine years to defeat the Conservatives, a contest successful in 1896; then for fifteen years in power as prime minister of Canada; and then eight years more in opposition. Mr. Skelton's first volume is wholly given to the first period.

In the background of Laurier's problems was always the jealous sense of nationality on the part of the French element in Canada. They are a stiff-necked people. It is doubtful if as many as ten thousand ever crossed the sea to Canada, but to-day their descendants number three million and those in the province of Quebec remain as distinctly French as were their ancestors three centuries ago. Proud members of a race which they believe has first place in the culture of the world, they deride the idea that they will abandon their cherished traditions to become a pallid copy of an English-speaking society, and they take quick alarm at any seeming design to achieve this end. This outlook Laurier had always to watch and humor. His own political thought was essentially English in type. He was a master of English political philosophy. But beneath this lay the racial passion of a Frenchman. He confessed that he followed the disasters of the last days of French rule in Canada with bitter sorrow.

The French Canadian does not like clerical dictation in politics. The two most successful leaders in French Canada, Papineau and Laurier, have been at heart anti-clerical. Neither of them attacked the dogmas of the Church, but both were resolved to keep it from political domination. Laurier's first fights were anti-clerical. In early manhood he stoutly resisted the efforts of the bishops in Quebec to coerce the Liberal elector and he won. What preserved Laurier's hold on Quebec was that he echoed the cries of French Canadian nationalism. His sympathies were with the French settlers in the Canadian West who, in 1869, and again in 1885, took up arms to defend their claims. When, in 1885, the Conservative government hanged Louis Riel, the leader in both revolts, Laurier regarded this as an outrage directed against his race. In 1896 came his chance to prove that among his countrymen, racial feeling was stronger than the authority of the bishops. The Canadian bishops forced the federal government of Canada to try to exercise its undoubted legal right to coerce the province of Manitoba to re-establish Roman Catholic, state-supported, separate schools, which it had abolished in defiance of written guarantees in the constitution. In the election which followed, Quebec went with Laurier against its bishops, and it was really the habitant, turning to a racial leader against clerical dictation, who kept Laurier in the office of prime minister during fifteen years.

As prime minister he did some notable things. Many of his followers clamored for free trade. He gave instead a reduction of one-third of the tariff to British imports, but still left the Protectionists protected.

He stood firmly against the centralization of authority in the British Empire; his French supporters, as he well knew, had no imperial instincts; he fought and worsted so doughty an opponent as Joseph Chamberlain and paved the way for the existing view of a British Commonwealth of free and equal nations. Laurier's immigration policy made the West a peopled country, but this very success nearly wrecked his administration. When, in 1905, he made Saskatchewan and Alberta self-governing provinces, he yielded to episcopal pressure so much as to propose to guarantee to minorities for all time state-supported separate schools in which church dogmas might be taught. In face of a Liberal revolt, he had to draw back, and this rebuff shook his hold on his own province. A former follower, M. Bourassa, attacked him as a traitor to the French race and made a real impression. The end of his rule was drawing near. One phase of his later policy was disastrous. He had no keen financial insight and, rather indolent in temper, he disliked details. Two new transcontinental railways were projected, when one would have been perhaps more than enough. Instead of forcing the rivals to unite, he aided both. In time both went bankrupt and to-day Canada is struggling under the heavy load involved in keeping up thousands of miles of unprofitable lines.

In 1911 Laurier was beaten honorably on a great issue, that of reciprocity in trade with the United States in natural products. He was then seventy, and it was fitting that he should have given up the leadership of the Liberal party. But his supremacy was so complete that no one was obviously his successor, and he was not unwilling to be coerced into remaining. It was a mistake. The war came in 1914. His attitude in supporting the existing government was irreproachable, but now he was haunted by a great fear. M. Bourassa was appealing to French nationalism against him, was reviling British imperialism, and blaming it for the war. Laurier knew that if he had any secure hold it was on Quebec, and now this was threatened; Quebec gone, nothing was left. Meanwhile English-speaking Liberals were growing restive. They wished to unite the country in one supreme effort to win the war. In 1917 Laurier definitely refused to support in Canada conscription, which had been adopted both in Great Britain and in the United States, and to join a coalition government. His English-speaking followers broke away, and an election left him with almost none but French followers. He had beaten Bourassa, Quebec was his, but farther west his party was wrecked.

Clearly there were marked limitations and defects in Laurier's great career, and Mr. Skelton's note of indiscriminating praise jars a little. To-day the Liberal party is in power in Canada, but it has a bare majority and its strength is almost wholly in the racial unity of the Quebec held by Laurier. In antagonism are Ontario largely and the West entirely. The solidarity of Quebec has created that of the rest of Canada in opposition, and this is Laurier's ominous achievement. He could have di-

vided Quebec. Many of its people were of one mind with the other elements in Canada in respect to the war. Probably half of Quebec would have supported him in a coalition. But he chose to go, as he said, with his people, and the bad legacy of racial cleavage endures. Mr. Dafoe makes these things clear with brilliant phrasing, and his one little volume gives a clearer view of Laurier as a whole than the two of Mr. Skelton. Official biography has its drawbacks. Sir Wilfrid Laurier was a high-minded gentleman and his character would have suffered nothing from perfect candor and detachment.

GEORGE M. WRONG.

MINOR NOTICES

A Short History of the World. By H. G. Wells. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1922, pp. xvi, 455, \$4.00.) Mr. H. G. Wells has prepared a *Short History of the World* which is "meant to be read straightforwardly almost as a novel is read. It gives in a most general way an account of our present knowledge of history, shorn of elaborations and complications." It is not an abstract or condensation of the author's *Outline of History*, but "a much more generalized History, planned and written afresh". Necessarily the broad topics treated are much the same, and the point of view and interpretation are much the same; but the briefer work is on the whole written in a more impersonal way, the note of irritation and the denunciatory method are less obtrusive, the interesting if sometimes ridiculous foot-note squabbles between Mr. Wells and his editors are omitted. Relatively little space is given to modern history; only 109 pages out of a total of 427 are devoted to the period since 1555, only 79 pages to the period since 1815. As a result the knowledge of modern history to be obtained from this volume will be fragmentary in the extreme. This book, like many others, raises the question of how far the rich complexity of history may be generalized and simplified without ceasing to be history.

C. B.

Social Work in the Light of History. By Stuart Alfred Queen, Ph.D., Professor of Sociology in the University of Kansas. [Lippincott's Sociological Series, edited by Edward Cary Hayes, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of Sociology in the University of Illinois.] (Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1922, pp. 327, \$2.00.) This suggestive volume has beyond doubt been evolved from the note-book of a teacher. Its unique contribution is not so much the convenience of a handbook into which are concisely gathered accounts of various forms of humanitarian effort, though this has been done with care and a sense of proportion, but rather the exposition of the modern method of "studying history backward". The present methods of dealing with such problems as labor, housing, and child welfare are presented as forms of social behavior under

familiar conditions. Gradually the author leads the way back through the nineteenth-century humanitarianism to the study of social motives in the administration of English poor relief, in ecclesiastical philanthropy, and in the charities of manor, gild, and town.

Meanwhile social work itself is regarded as part of a general social and economic development. For instance, modern social work, it is explained, necessarily had its origin in England because it was a response to the maladjustments of the Industrial Revolution which began in that country. The background of economic change is supplied with skill for the reader who must have an explanation of terms which are commonplace to the student of economic history. Only at one or two points do the interpretations appear a little forced, as when the sentimentalism of the nineteenth-century Lady Bountiful is explained by the "forcing of charity outside the ordinary relationships of the business world" and as a result of removing the women folk of the bourgeoisie "from the vital relations of the economic system". There have been Lady Bountifuls through a longer course of history and they have usually been sentimental.

With greater clearness and definiteness than can be found in any previous attempt to justify the professional claims of social work, Dr. Queen rests them on the necessities which have grown out of our increased dependence on the specialized services of trades and professions. He finds the legitimate clients of social work no longer limited to the poor, as in times past, but drawn from the whole population for whom the new public service should now be available.

The selected readings are in some instances surprisingly out of date. Excellent and easily available books on such subjects as labor legislation, co-operation, and housing have almost entirely supplanted those listed on pages 71 and 128.

AMY HEWES.

The Art of Biography. By William R. Thayer. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920, pp. ix, 155, \$1.50.) This little volume, dedicated to President Alderman of the University of Virginia, embodies the Barbour-Page lectures at that institution. As biographer of Cavour, John Hay, Theodore Roosevelt, and George Washington, the author is peculiarly fitted to speak to the theme. Beginning with the dawn of history, when the monarch became the subject of the early chronicle because of his social dominance, the author traces the art of biography down to the present time. The first consecutive and genuine biography he finds in the story of Joseph in the book of Genesis; and the uniformity with which Joseph always acts in character inclines him to the belief that Joseph was a real person—although he might quite as well have "acted in character" had he been a fictive personage. Other Biblical stories, such as those of David and Joshua, present rather a mixture of history and biography; and it is not until we come to Plutarch that we find a real master of biography. In his allusiveness, his familiarity with tradition, popular

sayings, and gossip, he is unmatched by any modern biographer. Plutarch defined each individual clearly, and wrote by topics—in contrast with the modern biographer who is a slave to chronology and sequence, seeking an “explanation” of the biographed in time and in place. Indeed the modern biographer has to take account of all the results of the science of psychology, the new theories of the unconscious self, the intermixture of motives which go to the inspiration of an act or course of procedure. To-day we approach personality as a problem to be solved rather than as a life to be exhibited.

The thesis of this little book may be found in these words: “The constant direction in the evolution of Biography has been from the outward to the inward.” Mr. Thayer does not believe—and says so flatfootedly—that man is to be “explained” materialistically as a mere product of his environment. But he does insist that we should know with precision “whether a great man was original, how much he borrowed either through inheritance or through contact with his fellows”. The best biography, the best history, he defines as “that which comes as near as possible to reproducing the event or the person as in life”.

In the transition from medieval to modern biography, Mr. Thayer discovers no conspicuous advance in the art of biography—although he singles out and happily describes a small number of outstanding works. After citing a number of notable modern biographies, Mr. Thayer announces as if this were the contribution of modern biography: “The essential subject of the biographer is the soul of man”; and finds the virtue of Boswell chiefly in the fact that he acted, not as a prism of temperament for reflecting a Boswellian Johnson, but as a highly sensitized plate for catching the image of the “real” Johnson. And with this, too, went sympathy, and the artist’s gift of selection. “Multiplicity”, we are told, seems to be the “foremost trait” of contemporary biography; whereas the true aim of the biographer should be “totality”.

ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.

Hebrew Tribal Economy and the Jubilee, as illustrated in Semitic and Indo-European Village Communities. By Henry Schaeffer, Ph.D., S.T.M., Professor of Old Testament Exegesis in the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Chicago, Illinois. (Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs, 1922, pp. viii, 198, \$1.30.) This book has grown out of the same writer’s earlier volume, *Social Legislation of the Primitive Semites*, and is a book after the same order. It is intended to be a refutation of the critical theory that the Hebrew law of jubilee is the product of a post-exilic school of priestly writers. The author has shown tremendous industry and has brought together a wealth of material to show that the early life of the Hebrews was tribal in its religious expression, its political organization, its social morality, and its economic constitution. Only gradually was the sense of tribal solidarity broken down by contact with the Amorites, and in some of its forms it persisted to the end. Moreover, there was a conscious effort

on the part of many to maintain the old order against the inroads of the new, and the law of jubilee is one expression of this effort. In course of time personal property rights came to be recognized to some degree; lands were sold and thus alienated from their original holders; and the purpose of the jubilee was to correct this by enacting that all alienated property should revert in the jubilee-year to the original holders, free of all encumbrance. The sharp distinction between village and city property in the law is a compromise measure intended "to keep intact the economic system of the Hebrew peasantry without unduly trenching upon the rights of the commercial classes residing in the fortified cities, where the conception of individual ownership would be more fully developed than in the rural districts" (p. 91).

With much that the author has said all will agree. There is no question that the Hebrews long maintained something of their earlier tribal organization. Villages doubtless held tracts of land in common and there was probably a periodic redistribution of the land among the villagers. Schaeffer has accumulated much evidence for this and has shown many parallels among other Semitic and Indo-European village communities. Modern scholars do not deny the historicity of the law of jubilee in its entirety, but only those features of it that are manifestly artificial and unworkable. The number 50 is clearly artificial and two fallow years (the forty-ninth and fiftieth), followed by a lean year (the fifty-first), sowing being prohibited in the fiftieth, would be quite impossible. Schaeffer has adduced nothing to counterbalance the evidence of literature and history, and the unanimous belief of the Talmudists and Rabbis, that the jubilee-year was never observed.

The book is not particularly well written. The language in places is obscure. There are many typographical errors. There is no index.

THEOPHILE J. MEEK.

Transactions of the Royal Historical Society. Fourth Series, volume V. (London, the Society, 1922, pp. iii, 258.) Seven papers are included in this volume. In the first Mr. H. G. Rawlinson gives the history of the Embassy of William Harborne to Constantinople, 1583-1588, from the ambassador's original letters and memoranda preserved in the Public Record Office and elsewhere. The relation of the embassy to the founding of the Levant Company is important. By an unfortunate slip, the date of Harborne's birth (which seems not to have been known to previous writers) is given as 1572. Mr. H. G. Richardson compares Year Books and Plea Rolls as Sources of Historical Information, giving the preference to the plea rolls, or official records, presenting interesting examples, and ending with a valuable bibliographical note on both series. Mr. F. W. Buckler discusses the Political Theory of the Indian Mutiny, in the light of the proceedings in the *Trial of the King of Delhi*, and shows the diametrical difference between the British and the native Indian view of the relations between the Mughal Empire and the British government and company.

Miss Gwendolen Whale describes the Influence of the Industrial Revolution on the Demand for Parliamentary Reform. Sir Francis Piggott presents some Practical Notes on Historical Research, Miss Gladys Thompson a brief paper on the Origin and Growth of the Office of Deputy-Lieutenant, *temp.* Eliz. The most substantial study in the volume is Miss Eveline C. Martin's thorough account of the English Establishments on the Gold Coast in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century, confined to matters of government, and accompanied by a useful note on the original sources (manuscript papers of the Company of Merchants Trading to Africa, etc.) and the bibliography of the subject.

English and French in England, 1066-1100. By Percy Van Dyke Shelly. (Philadelphia, Pa., University of Pennsylvania, 1921, pp. 97.) It is a useful service to bring together the passages in the sources showing the feeling between English and Normans in England immediately after the Conquest. Mr. Shelly can hardly be said to do more than this. He adds nothing to our knowledge; his own knowledge is hardly abreast of the present day; and his criticism of the sources is not keen. Some of his evidence in favor of his thesis is no better than evidence against it which he rejects. That there was contempt felt and shown by the Normans for the Saxons in some cases is certain; that there was much kindly feeling between the two races is also certain. To estimate the relative amount of these inconsistent feelings is something impossible for us and not really necessary. All that we need to know is that the popular idea of general Norman contempt, for which Sir Walter Scott is no doubt chiefly responsible, is an exaggeration. A few specific notes may be permitted. (P. 51) Witnesses to a charter cannot be trusted to show the membership of the court. (P. 52) *Consuetudines* in the passage cited means not "laws of the land" but customary payments. (P. 53) The juries of the preamble of the *Leges Edwardi Confessoris* are an invention of the writer. (P. 54) Meeting together in local courts does not imply union of the races. They could not do otherwise. (P. 71) *Milites* is a technical term of landholding, not "soldiers" in the sense supposed. (P. 79) The inferences concerning the judicial activities of the abbot Aethelwig are hardly justified by the source used. (P. 89) Of the *Leges Willelmi* the French is certainly the original, not the Latin, and both are of the twelfth century. It is surprising to find no use made of Liebermann's *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*. It would have saved the writer some mistakes and given him some additional facts.

Vitae Paparum Avenionensium. Stephanus Baluzius edidit. Nouvelle Édition revue d'après les Manuscrits, par G. Mollat, Professeur à l'Université de Strasbourg. Tome IV. (Paris, Letouzey et Ané, 1922, pp. 468, 100 fr. for the four volumes.) The third and fourth volumes of the new edition of Baluze contain the documents on which the notes of the original second volume were based. The fourth volume, here

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mentioned, begins at page 605 of the old edition and covers the remainder of that volume. The work has been done with the same scholarly care as in the earlier portions (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXVII. 605). M. Mollat has been at great pains to consult all known manuscripts of the original documents and has been able to make certain corrections in Baluze's text and to supply or correct various dates, though it is surprising how few changes are demanded in a new edition of this material appearing after the lapse of more than two hundred years. A particularly valuable feature of the modern edition is the index of forty-five pages covering the third and fourth volumes, which will be found of great assistance especially for its geographical information. Place-names have been identified with great care and there are comparatively few instances even of obscure churches or parishes whose location has not been indicated.

Weltgeschichte in Gemeinverständlicher Darstellung. In Verbindung mit . . . herausgegeben von Ludo Moritz Hartmann. Band VI., Erste Hälfte. *Das Zeitalter der Reformation und Gegenreformation, von 1517-1660.* Von Kurt Kaser. (Stuttgart-Gotha, Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1922, pp. 222.) The reviewer must consider not only the aim of a given author, but also the needs of the special audience for which he (the reviewer) writes. According to this principle it may be said at once that, whereas Herr Kaser has written acceptably for the German reading public to which he appeals, he has contributed little or nothing to the understanding of the period which the scholar cannot well afford to miss. Undiscouraged by hardship, a brilliant band of German scholars—Pastor, Berger, Kalkoff, Fueter, Burdach, G. Wolf, R. Wolff, Lenz, Below, and Holl—have fruitfully studied and powerfully analyzed the history of the Reformation. Amid this company the present author will distinctly not take a place.

Nor will this volume bear comparison with the corresponding volume in Pflugk-Harttung's *Weltgeschichte*, published in 1907. Not only was the earlier work enriched with many pictures and facsimiles, but it was written by specialists who could speak with authority. Herr Kaser seems to content himself with condensation of the standard authorities, among whom Ranke takes the first place. His field is narrowed by the plan of the work. He passes by, as already known, the formation of the principles of international policy, the consolidation of the Western states, the decentralization of Germany and Italy, the decay of monarchical power and the creation of an oligarchical government in Eastern Europe, the connection of early capitalism with a policy of expansion conditioned by dynastic purposes. His primary interest lies in the tale of the political and ecclesiastical history of the period. Though he does not entirely neglect economics, he says nothing about intellectual history. He throws into the deepest shadow the financial collapse of Spain, and by way of contrast paints in brilliant colors the prosperity and wealth

of the Netherlands. In the marts of Amsterdam, he believes, our modern economic life evolved, with both its good and its bad features, and the driving force of the great new expansion was capitalism, and its instrument the stock company.

The author's sympathies are with Luther and the Germanic peoples. The Saxon reformer is contrasted favorably with Wycliffe's fugitive and academic retirement, with Huss's chauvinism, and with Calvin's narrow intolerance. The Counter-reformation is understood primarily as the war of Romanism against Teutonism. Cromwell's ruling idea is found in the belief that the English were the chosen people, destined to conquer the world in order to erect in it the kingdom of God. The causes of the Reformation are found in the moral revolt against religious abuses and in the lay revolt against ecclesiastical impositions. The Renaissance, though theoretically opposed to the ideals of the Church, was unable to cope with it because of lack of moral earnestness. While the reviewer cannot agree fully with any of the statements quoted in this paragraph, he can safely endorse the greater part of the positions taken by the author.

PRESERVED SMITH.

Macbeth, King Lear, and Contemporary History: being a Study of the Relations of the Play of Macbeth to the Personal History of James I., the Darnley Murder, and the St. Bartholomew Massacre and also of King Lear as Symbolic Mythology. By Lilian Winstanley, M.A. (Cambridge, University Press, 1922, pp. 5, 228, 15 s.) This book is dedicated to the proposition that Shakespeare's plays are "of an age". Miss Winstanley would, naturally, not deny that they may also be "for all time"; what she challenges is the disposition of A. C. Bradley and his school to discuss them as literature in the abstract. "They were written", she insists, "by an Englishman in the early seventeenth century", whose outlook, whose whole working psychology was different from ours, and they are to be understood only in relation to his time. Her own concern with them is to trace their rendering of contemporary history, of which, she is convinced, they are full. In this volume she investigates *Macbeth* and *King Lear*; in an earlier she investigated *Hamlet*.

There was doubtless need for a shifting of the point of view; others than Miss Winstanley have been helping to shift it. But after all, a new perspective ought not to distort one's vision of essentials, and in the case of Miss Winstanley it too often does. She believes that *Macbeth* and *King Lear* are not the mere plays they have been held to be, but complexes of dramatic symbolism, crammed with references to the Darnley murder and the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew. That the Gunpowder Plot should have turned men's minds in that direction may be conceded. For one thing, however, Miss Winstanley's very elaborateness of theorizing discredits her theory; no Elizabethan audience could or

would have followed these plays into the dark corners into which she tracks them. For another, her whole scheme of interpretation ignores the faculty that made Shakespeare Shakespeare. "I simply cannot conceive", she insists, "of dramas of such intensity written about early Scotland or the remote bronze age." To which one can only answer that if Shakespeare had been unable to vivify such rudiments of story, neither she nor any of the rest of us would still be reading him.

R. E. NEIL DODGE.

The Jacobites and the Union: being a Narrative of the Movements of 1708, 1715, 1719 by Several Contemporary Hands. Edited by Charles Sanford Terry, Litt.D., Burnett-Fletcher Professor of History in the University of Aberdeen. (Cambridge, University Press, 1922, pp. xii, 274, 10s. 6d.)

The Forty-Five: a Narrative of the last Jacobite Rising by Several Contemporary Hands. Edited by Charles Sanford Terry, Litt.D., Burnett-Fletcher Professor of History in the University of Aberdeen. (Cambridge, University Press, 1922, pp. xii, 208, 8s. 6d.) Those familiar with the product of the previous studies of Professor Terry will, as they might naturally expect, find the work in the present volumes to be marked by scholarly thoroughness. "I have set myself", he tells us, "to construct out of contemporary materials a full narrative of Jacobite effort at the four periods of its activity—in 1708, 1715, 1719, and 1745." One volume deals with the first three movements, and the other with the fourth—the Forty-Five. As he very convincingly remarks: "Only in the language and from the outlook of those who took part in it or watched its unfolding is it possible to recover the romantic atmosphere which irradiates the story. With only a connecting word here and there I have let the actors in it tell its incidents in their own way, piecing their prose so that it reads as a consecutive narrative. I venture to think it the fullest and most vivid of the events it records." From his knowledge of the materials and the period the editor has been able to select cunningly of the best and to weave the fragments together with unusual skill, correcting a detail, now and again, wherever necessary. Moreover, at the beginning of each volume he has provided a list of authorities—practically all in print—indicating briefly the scope and value of each, while at the end he appends, in each case, lists of the participants in the risings with concise but adequate comments on their respective activities. Some twenty years ago Professor Terry published, in the Scottish History from Contemporary Writers series, a couple of works covering approximately the same ground, but neither one is any longer generally accessible, while the appearance of much new material, relating particularly to the Forty-Five, has resulted in a considerable recasting of the narrative.

ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

Weltgeschichte in gemeinverständlicher Darstellung. In Verbindung mit . . . herausgegeben von Ludo Moritz Hartmann. Band VII., Hälfte I. *Die Französische Revolution.* Von G. Bourgin. (Stuttgart and Gotha, Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1922, pp. viii, 267.) The manuscript of this half-volume was prepared by Bourgin and translated by Dr. L. Singer. The editors and publishers may be commended for the excellence of their work. The volume is in good literary form. It contains no newly established facts. Its value must be judged by the choice of material, the historical synthesis, the accuracy of statement of facts, and the merits of the series of which it is a part. In an introduction of twenty-one pages Bourgin leads up to revolutionary thought with a study of modern philosophy, dealing with Descartes, Spinoza, Leibnitz, Bacon, and other philosophers and writers on political, industrial, and social questions. Pages 22-45 deal with the more immediate causes of the Revolution; pages 45-133 contain a general account of the revolutionary movement up to 1799; pages 133-267, chapters VII.-XI., deal with the internal, the industrial and social, the legal and governmental, and the ecclesiastical changes and the spread of the Revolution beyond France.

It is difficult to write the history of the Revolution in 267 pages. Bourgin is more superficial than is necessary. He skips too lightly from point to point. His synthesis is faulty. He deals, for example, with the October days before he takes up the peasant disorders of July and the decrees of August 4. It is the mission of history to deal with related events in their causal connection. The events of October were the natural sequence and the result of the events of the preceding months. There are some serious omissions as well as a number of minor inaccuracies, a few of which may be due to faulty translation. The period from May 5 to June 27 is covered in one and a half pages. May 5 is merely referred to as the opening day of the States General. Necker did not speak at the royal session. It is precisely his absence that is remarkable. It helped to encourage the people in their opposition to the king's orders. It is incorrect to state that the assembly was on August 4 "still quite ready" to stop the disorders in the provinces by force. Such a motion was made as early as July 20 and repeated afterwards and failed.

CARL CHRISTOL.

The Making of Australasia: a Brief History of the Origin and Development of the British Dominions in the South Pacific. By Thomas Dunbabin, M.A. [The Making of the British Empire, edited by H. Clive Barnard.] (London, A. and C. Black, 1922, pp. xii, 258, 10 s. 6d.) "This book", as described in the introduction, "is an effort to give a brief but accurate account of the winning and making of Australasia. It may seem that a disproportionate amount of space has been given to the earlier history of Australia. For this there are several good reasons. . . . What may be called the middle period of Australian history is comparatively featureless except to the specialist." Thus, of the 254 pages, 148

are devoted to a brief account of the discovery and occupation of the continent to 1850, fifty-three pages carry the story to 1914, twenty-eight are given to New Zealand, and twenty-two pages cover the participation of Australia in the Great War. It goes without saying that within such space-limitations only very brief, and at times superficial, treatment can be accorded to events of considerable importance, and it is doubtful if, from this book alone, a reader could obtain a very helpful knowledge of present-day Australia. It probably would have been better to have devoted the whole book to a more careful examination of the period before 1850 instead of trying to survey the whole period at the expense of proper proportions. The space devoted to New Zealand is absolutely inadequate from any point of view.

The reviewer is not inclined to agree with the statement that "the middle period of Australian history is comparatively featureless except to the specialist". It has, to be sure, been very much neglected by Australian historians, but it offers a field for the same kind of investigation which has made the westward movement so vital a subject of historical study in America. The history of Australia is economic, political, and social, rather than military or diplomatic. The settlement of the interior, the land systems, the problems of labor and of immigration, and political development, are important subjects for investigation, and they cannot be neglected by the historian simply because Australia has not been the scene of military exploits. On these matters very little will be found in Mr. Dunbabin's work.

As the book is designed for the general reader, it contains neither bibliography nor citations. The style is pleasing, but aside from the chapter on the Great War the work cannot supersede the existing brief histories of Jenks and Scott. Although a corrigenda slip has been inserted, it does not include all the typographical errors, while one of the corrections is itself wrongly located.

P. J. T.

The Evolution of People's Banks. By Donald S. Tucker, Ph.D., Assistant Professor in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. CII., no. 1, whole no. 231.] (New York, Columbia University, 1922, pp. 272, \$2.75.) A very excellent study is Dr. Donald S. Tucker's *The Evolution of People's Banks*. He has summed up for us, more carefully than any other has done, the real facts in the development of the co-operative idea as represented by banks and allied institutions, such as building and loan associations. He has followed successfully the evolutionary processes at work in the matter of banks, particularly in Germany.

At the outset it is interesting to discover that he really gave credit where credit was deserved—to Victor Aimé Huber, who was possibly the foremost thinker and organizer prior to the development of the Raiffeisen, Schulze-Delitzsch, and Luzzatti banks.

A very commendable feature of Dr. Tucker's discussion is chapter II., which turns on the Structure of the People's Bank. His analysis of the machine and dissection of the manner of its functioning is praiseworthy. The extent to which he goes into detail is fairly astonishing. Another illuminating chapter is entitled, the People's Bank in Many Lands. Here he gives a brief survey of the world movement. He discusses the credit union development in America and Canada—the credit union being a type of small savings bank, patterned after the Schulze-Delitzsch and Raiffeisen systems. The points which favor the development of the credit union are that it offers the readiest avenue for the escape of the small borrower, and further, it makes possible the development of credits where no credits existed and the setting in motion of a new scheme of banking machinery.

If Dr. Tucker's book can be subjected to any particular criticism, it is because of the fact that he has failed to take notice of the development in this country of so-called co-operative banks, a development begun in 1920. Already there are about a dozen institutions of this type and vast interest is being shown in the so-called experiment, the chief fundamentals of which lie in stockholders agreeing to limit the returns on the investment, together with profit-sharing with depositors. The most striking example of this type of bank is represented by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers Cooperative National Bank of Cleveland, which in little more than two years has come to control approximately twenty millions of credits. The fairly rapid growth of these co-operative institutions augurs the advent of a period in which we shall develop new banking mechanisms based on limiting dividends and profit-sharing; or who can say we shall not build a distinctly new co-operative bank where to be a depositor one must be a shareholder also?

An excellent bibliography and index accompany the volume.

WALTER F. McCaleb.

Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Volume LV., October, 1921–June, 1922. (Boston, the Society, 1923, pp. xvi, 387.) The chief commemorative notices in this volume are of Melville M. Bigelow, Viscount Bryce, Edward Everett Hale, and Barrett Wendell. Several brief documents of curious interest are published in the volume, among them two from Mary Storer, of Wells, Maine, who was carried away from that place as a captive by the Indians in 1703 to Canada, where she became Sister Mary St. Germaine. All the important historical articles in the volume relate to the Revolutionary period. Dr. Edward Waldo Emerson commemorates Rev. William Emerson, a chaplain of the Revolution, and minister of Concord from 1766 to 1776. Mr. G. G. Wolkins relates with a substantial body of documents the story of the seizure of John Hancock's sloop *Liberty*. Dr. Gardner W. Allen presents a collection of letters and papers of Captain Hector McNeill of the Continental Navy, filling a hundred pages, and derived from a letter-book of that officer lately presented to the Society, from other family papers, and from documents in

the Massachusetts archives and the Library of Congress. Mr. Jonathan Smith concludes the volume with a valuable article on the question, "How Massachusetts raised her Troops in the Revolution".

Broadsides, Ballads, etc., printed in Massachusetts, 1639-1800. [Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, vol. LXXV.] (Boston, the Society, 1922, pp. xvi, 482, with facsimiles, \$5.00.) This volume is an important addition to American bibliography. The historian is slowly awakening to the informative and illustrative value of the broadside, and this list should stimulate other states to similar publications.

Mr. Ford's introductory note is an entertaining presentation of historical and bibliographic facts as to Massachusetts printing, but exception may be taken to his statement "that the broadside practically ceases to have historical interest after 1800". The Embargo excitement, the War of 1812, the political enthusiasms of the 'twenties, 'thirties, and 'forties, the annexation of Texas, "Bleeding Kansas", and the anti-slavery propaganda are represented by scores of broadside issues fully as important historically as the large number of fast and thanksgiving day proclamations noted in this list. Binn's Jackson Coffin broadside, the No-Annexation of Texas, signed in manuscript by Gallatin, Bryant, Field, and others, Gerrit Smith's fulminations, the New England Loyal Publication Society series, and other early Civil War issues make the year 1800 at least a doubtful stopping-place.

The editing is done with discrimination, and a nice sense of values, but consistency is lacking in the use of bracket, parenthesis, and foot-note type, which is, at times, confusing (*cf.* nos. 43, 44, 62, 68 and the "tax warrants" parentheses in nos. 1250, 1251, 1304 *et al.*). Note of the size of the imprints would have been helpful and one or two of the items, inferentially claimed as Massachusetts imprints by inclusion in this list, will probably be subjects of controversy.

There are some few typographical slips, the worst of which are the failures to include the British Museum in the Key, and the unexplained mystery of the sinister daggers. The index is good but troublesome. Arrangement of references alphabetically under the rubric would be more helpful than the old-fashioned method of page sequence and a closer cross-referencing is needed, *e.g.* under "Sons of Liberty" are seven references not noted under "Liberty" and "Married Women's Lamentation" is not noted under "Women". But these are minor points; the volume is a safe model of high excellence for similar publications.

J. C. FITZPATRICK.

Social Conditions among the Pennsylvania Germans in the Eighteenth Century, as revealed in the German Newspapers published in America. By James Owen Knauss, jr. (Lancaster, Pa., Pennsylvania-German Society, 1922, pp. x, 217.) This monograph has the merit of being an original and an honest piece of work. The title would, however, more

accurately have described its contents if it had been reversed with the emphasis upon newspapers rather than upon social conditions. Of the eight chapters all but the first and the greater part of the last deal, it is true, with social conditions, but the very fact that the information is drawn almost exclusively from German newspapers makes the book a study of newspapers rather than a study of social conditions. One may ask, moreover, if a description of social conditions is the dominant purpose, why write it from German newspapers rather than from every conceivable and available source? However, this is not intended as a criticism of the contents, and attention is called to it merely to direct the reader of this review to the chief value of the volume.

The social conditions of the Pennsylvania Germans are of course treated incidentally, if not directly, in every chapter and include such subjects as religion, charities, education, language, traits of character, vocations, and political ideals; but there is little new light shed upon this phase of the subject; nor does the author claim that there is. It confirms rather what we already know: that the great body of Pennsylvania Germans came from the peasant class; that they were frugal, industrious, law-abiding, liberty-loving, and intensely religious; that in spite of the initial stages of pioneer hardship and poverty they prospered as a class; that in many cases they rose to prominence industrially and socially and, in some cases, politically, the most conspicuous example of the latter being that of Friederich A. Mühlenberg, who was elected speaker of the first national House of Representatives. "Their most striking characteristic as citizens was their intense love of liberty, the expression of which ran like a golden thread through almost all their newspapers" (p. 141).

On the whole the author does not overestimate the contribution made by the Pennsylvania Germans to state and nation; he rather underestimates their influence, in failing at times to link up properly their local activities with the currents that were making national history; for example, the part they played in the suppression of the slave trade and in laying the social foundations which later gave to the commonwealth of Pennsylvania its unique character.

That the author has written from original sources is evident on every page by numerous foot-note references and frequent quotations (in German) from the newspaper files in various public libraries and in private and antiquarian collections. The first chapter (36 pages), dealing exclusively with the history of German newspapers and their publishers, forms not only an introduction to the whole subject, but also, apart from the rest of the volume, a background to the last 46 pages which are devoted to a complete statistical presentation of the German newspapers in Pennsylvania from 1732 to 1801. The research student will find at the end of the work the most complete and up-to-date German newspaper bibliography that has thus far been published, and it is the only one that states what papers and issues are still extant and where they can be found. But there is no index.

KARL F. GEISER.

The Journal and Essays of John Woolman. Edited from the Original Manuscripts with a Biographical Introduction by Amelia Mott Gummere. [Rancocas Edition.] (New York, Macmillan Company, 1922, pp. xxii, 643, \$5.00.) This is a large and welcome addition to our previous knowledge of John Woolman, which was very meagre. Having access to various sources of information hitherto but partially, if at all, explored, the editor has brought together much interesting and valuable material. There is also, among other illustrations, a portrait of Woolman reproduced from a sepia drawing, of which the editor says "the erratic background is omitted". We should have been glad to see it, precisely as we should have been grateful had the editor given us more of a background for the literary portrait of her subject. From the notes and appendix, as well as from her chapters in *The Quakers in the American Colonies*, it is possible to supply the omission and build up a background bit by bit, but it now remains for some biographer to do better what W. Teignmouth Shore did well a decade ago and give us a Life of John Woolman which will enable us to look not only into his eyes but also out through them, and see what he saw as well as what he was. Like most Friends of his time, Woolman had scant interest in contemporary history: indeed, as a class, Quakers have always cared less for temporal events than for eternal principles, but the editor has cleverly suggested that one of his dreams may have been due in part to contemporary occurrences.

Speaking of dreams, we are grateful to the editor for restoring these striking experiences to their proper places in the *Journal*. Is it quite correct to say, however, that in the first edition "the dreams are all wanting" (p. xvi)? Unfortunately, also, two references to dreams in the text are not noted in the index (pp. 308, 322). There is also a slight inaccuracy on page 287 where the reference should be not to the "introduction", but to page 115 of the text. This is due to the fact that on the title-page the "Biographical Sketch" (pp. 1-150) is called a "biographical introduction", while in the book itself the introduction covers pp. ix-xviii.

There seems to be a regrettable slip in the designation of the manuscripts of the *Journal*. On page xviii it is stated that "Throughout this volume the folio MS. . . is termed MS. A. The first small quarto, ending 1747, is MS. B., and the similar quarto, ending 1770, is MS. C." Yet in the foot-note on page 170, under the year 1747, we read "MS. C. ends at this point. It contains forty-eight quarto pages" (47 according to p. xi), and from this point on variant readings are assigned to B. It would seem, therefore, that in the notes the earlier of the two quartos is referred to not as B. but as C. This may be confusing to those who are interested in tracing the development of Woolman's literary style.

W. W. FENN.

Peter Hasenclever aus Remscheid-Ehringhausen: ein Deutscher Kaufmann des 18. Jahrhunderts. Seine Biographie, Briefe, und Denkschriften im Auftrage der Familie Hasenclever herausgegeben von Professor Dr. Adolf Hasenclever in Halle a.S. (Gotha, Perthes, 1922, pp. viii, 252.) Peter Hasenclever was a German merchant, born in 1716, who after learning the iron and the linen business in Silesia journeyed while still a youth over the greater part of Europe as a commercial traveller, established a mercantile house in Cadiz, where he made a fortune in the South American trade, moved to London and became a British subject, organized a large company to erect and operate iron-works and other industrial enterprises in North America, spent some five years in the colonies in connection with these undertakings, returned to London bankrupt mainly on account of the dishonesty of certain of his British associates, and eventually restored his fortunes as a linen manufacturer and merchant in Silesia, where he acquired a prominent position in the politico-commercial life of Prussia under Frederick the Great. Undoubtedly Hasenclever was a remarkable man. His cosmopolitan experience and practical contact with business conditions and economic grievances in the colonies lend unusual weight to his account of the causes of the Revolution. His travels embraced the country from Boston and Detroit in the North to Charleston in the South. Some of his letters are addressed to high court personages and were evidently intended for the eye of the Hanoverian king himself. Although several have been printed or cited at length in American historical collections and others were published more or less obscurely in contemporary German periodicals, these communications, which often assume the character of informal reports, have never been collected in a single body, and it is safe to say that several of them are unknown to our historians. Together with the biography, which has considerable interpretative value, they afford a very important contribution to the accessible source-literature of the period of pre-Revolutionary agitation in America, a picture of colonial manners and customs of more than usual interest, and a very readable description of certain aspects of industrial and commercial life in Europe during the eighteenth century.

VICTOR S. CLARK.

A Study of "Monarchical" Tendencies in the United States, from 1776 to 1801. By Louise Burnham Dunbar. [University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, vol. X., no. 1.] (Urbana, University of Illinois, 1922, pp. 164, \$2.25.) Miss Dunbar expresses modest views respecting her dissertation: "By its relative completeness and by its arrangement of the facts, for the most part, in chronological order, this study should afford an account somewhat clearer and more comprehensive than those attempted in preceding treatments." There is no doubt that she has achieved this. She has done it with thorough, and apparently exhaustive, research, with industry, with intelligence and good

judgment. After an introductory chapter on the attitude of the Americans toward kingship in the days just before the Revolution, she treats of the plan of the Count de Broglie, of that of Colonel Lewis Nicola, of the episode respecting Prince Henry of Prussia, and of the more important question of the monarchical tendencies alleged to exist among the Federalists by their contemporary opponents. She treats this latter matter with good common sense, and shows just about the amount of solid matter that was enveloped in the nebulous accusations of partizan democrats. The subject will need no further treatment by anyone. At points, indeed, Miss Dunbar has rather overdone it; that in every year from the Stamp Act "till after the bloodshed of Lexington and Concord there were expressions by Americans of loyalty to the King", is too well known, or too easily imagined, a proposition to require in its support thirty-seven citations from newspapers and other writings of the time; but such is the habit of the writers of dissertations. It is also their habit to make their "bibliographies" needlessly formidable by inserting titles of encyclopaedias, catalogues, and books which were consulted but yielded nothing of value.

The Land of the Miamis: an Account of the Struggle to secure Possession of the North-West from the End of the Revolution until 1812. By Elmore Barce. (Fowler, Ind., Benton Review Shop, 1922, pp. xiii, 422, \$3.00.) The subtitle *An Account of the Struggle to Secure Possession of the North-West from the End of the Revolution until 1812* states more adequately than does the principal title the subject and scope of the volume. In twenty-five chapters and 422 pages the author has undertaken to describe this momentous struggle. It would be difficult to find a theme more instinct with human interest and dramatic qualities, and the author has permitted himself ample room to develop it with sufficient thoroughness and detail. Moreover (we are informed on the publisher's jacket) he has devoted five years of labor to the task.

The result, as it lies before us, is a substantial and readable volume. Its scope may best be indicated by noting some of the chapter contents. The first ten chapters give the general background responsible for the struggle between the two races. The remaining fifteen trace the course of the struggle itself, from the first invasion of the Northwest by Har-mar in 1790 to the battle of Tippecanoe twenty-one years later. Included in the first division are chapters on the topography of the Northwest, the beaver trade, the prairie and the buffalo, the seven principal Indian tribes, the frontiersman's view of the Indian, the Indian policy of the United States, and the policies of the British.

There is space to call attention to but a few of the more obvious characteristics of the volume under review. Those who, under the influence of recent world events, would like to forget that America once had a quarrel with England had best omit this book from their reading list: for Mr. Barce's unflinching pen portrays the agents of Great Britain in

a rôle distinctly hostile throughout to the United States. At the best it is an unpleasant tale for the adherents of England to contemplate, and the author's presentation will undoubtedly be sharply called in question by them. The fundamental contentions of Mr. Barce are in close agreement with the views which the reviewer has himself heretofore expressed in a book covering the same general field. Presumably, therefore, they are correct. But Mr. Barce's demonstration of them is less conclusive than it might have been had he chosen to pay more regard to the commonly accepted canons of historical scholarship. The book abounds in statements and quotations for which no reference is given. Where the general source is indicated, it is commonly done in such fashion that one cannot hope to check up the given statement. In dealing with so controversial a subject as this it is highly important that the author put the reader in touch with the authorities from whom he has drawn his narrative.

As a final observation, the unvarying admiration of the author for the policies and deeds of General Harrison seems worthy of comment. That Harrison filled a difficult station with, on the whole, a high measure of ability and success may be conceded. That his policies were invariably wisely taken and his deeds beyond the reach of criticism the reviewer is disposed to doubt.

M. M. QUAIFFE.

State Government. By Walter F. Dodd. (New York, Century Company, 1922, pp. xiii, 578, \$3.75.) This is the fifth volume to appear in the Century Political Science series.

While the details of the governmental machinery in the states of the United States do vary, yet in fundamentals they are very similar. Their variations and peculiarities form an interesting study. This book presents and analyzes all the important problems of state government, and for illustrative purposes specific instances and conditions are cited. The author's discussion raises the question whether the time has not come to disregard the old doctrine of the division of powers and deal with each as a part of a great single organization for the conduct of governmental business. Dr. Dodd's thesis in the volume seems to be that the state government is but a major link in the whole chain of government. Sufficient historical background of facts has been given to provide the general reader and the student of state government a foundation for the political theory presented.

Beginning with chapters on the Work of the State and the Nation and the States, a discussion is given to government and the state. While well presented there may be a question as to whether the terms government and state are sufficiently differentiated to be clear to all readers.

The constitutional basis of state government, the framework of state government, and the limits upon state governmental power are presented in a clear and logical manner. The development and reorganiza-

tion of the state executive and the judicial organization are well discussed. The treatment of the judiciary from the political and legislative viewpoints is well done. The work explains how the original forms of government have developed in response to changing conditions, how the present state governments are meeting present needs, and concludes with a brief consideration of some of the present-day plans for further reforms. Few men have had as good training for making such a contribution to this important field of study as Dr. Dodd. He has taken an active share in many of the governmental problems which he has discussed. As a student, teacher, and expert adviser and specialist on these problems, the author has presented an arrangement of material in a way which will appeal to both the general reader and the advanced student. The book will be useful for reference purposes and forms perhaps the most important contribution to this subject thus far made.

HARLOW LINDLEY.

Governors' Messages and Letters: Messages and Letters of William Henry Harrison. Volume I., 1800-1811. Edited by Logan Esarey. [Indiana Historical Collections, vol. VII.] (Indianapolis, Indiana Historical Commission, 1922, pp. xxxii, 744, \$1.50.) This book is the initial volume of a series of *Governors' Messages and Letters* projected by the Indiana Historical Commission. It covers the administration of William Henry Harrison as governor of Indiana Territory during the eleven years following the division of the Northwest Territory in 1800. The documents begin with a letter from Arthur St. Clair, governor of the Northwest Territory, to Harrison, the delegate in Congress, advocating St. Clair's favorite scheme of tripartite division of the Northwest at the Scioto and meridian of the mouth of the Kentucky; and conclude with those relating to the Tippecanoe campaign, after which Harrison's attention was diverted from civil to military affairs by the approach of the War of 1812. Dr. Esarey, the editor, has spent much of his time for six years in collecting from a wide variety of sources the material contained in this work. His labors have brought together nearly 450 documents, the great majority from Harrison's hand, although there is a liberal number by other federal and territorial officials. The result is not only a notable addition to the brief list of published Harrisoniana, but virtually a documentary source-book for the history of Indiana Territory and the Old Northwest, which forms in a sense a companion and sequel to the *St. Clair Papers*.

The editorial work seems to be well done. The source from which each document was obtained is indicated, and a twenty-four page calendar precedes the collection. The volume is well printed, on good paper, and does not exhibit an undue number of typographical errors. The editorial notes are commendable in quantity and quality. The document is the unit in numbering notes, with the odd result sometimes that two notes appear in sequence on the same page, each numbered (1). The index is only semi-analytical, and leaves somewhat to be desired.

HOMER C. HOCKETT.

Publications of the Nebraska State Historical Society. Volume XX. Edited by Albert Watkins, Historian of the Society. (Lincoln, the Society, 1922, pp. xiii, 400, map, \$2.50.) In no way confining its scope to the present-day boundaries of the state of Nebraska, this book "consists largely of accounts of the adventures of the fur-trade founders of St. Louis on the great plains of the Missouri Valley and in the adjacent mountain region, as related consecutively and contemporaneously in the *Missouri Republican* from 1808 to 1861" and other pioneer papers.

Of particular value is the large amount of information regarding the traffic along the trails to the Oregon Country and California, really a finding and establishing of the old Oregon Trail which was opened and used by William Ashley and his group of furmen, special mention being made of Andrew Henry, Jedediah S. Smith, William and Milton Sublette, David Jackson, Robert Campbell, James Bridger, Étienne Provost, and many others who wrote their names large in the early history of the West, as evidenced by the lakes, streams, mountain passes, peaks, forts, and cities bearing their names. Coupled with the accounts of these "earliest" men, of the twenties of the last century, is information on the beginning of traffic along the historic highway to the South, the Santa Fé Trail. Ending with a comprehensive index and a workable map the publication cannot help being a source-book for the many who are not able to spend a long period, as did the author, in the newspaper files of St. Louis.

The story of the Nebraska Country commences with the early fur-trader Manuel Lisa, in 1807, and ends with the gold excitement of Pike's Peak. It includes the adventures of the various fur companies having their origin in St. Louis, or in Franklin, Westport, and Independence, all of them on the water highway to the South and to the West, and the Santa Fé Trail; on the home seekers' route over the Oregon Trail; on the gold seekers' line to Eldorado in California, Idaho, Montana, and Colorado; or the religious flight of the followers of Brigham Young. Also we are given the history of the traffic for the fur trade by rowboats, saddle-horses and mules, steamboats, and by wagons as introduced by Ashley and Bonneville and their grizzly trappers over the Oregon Trail. To protect these furmen, explorers, emigrants, gold seekers, upon the urgent recommendation of General John C. Fremont, the United States government established military forts along the Oregon Trail, Fort Kearny in Nebraska, Forts Laramie and Bridger in Wyoming, and Fort Hall in Idaho.

There follows information as to the cholera, the smallpox, the management of the Indians and their segregation by the government, the characteristics of the pioneer people. Lastly came the period when the mail, express, and freight were transported over the trail to the West, and the railroad was built, with the Indian stubbornly and at times successfully holding back the invasion of the white man and his family.

Writers of history covering the period described in this book will have constant occasion to consult a reference-book that accurately and in detail

tells a story of conquest of the territory traversed by the western tributaries of the Missouri.

GRACE RAYMOND HEBARD.

Charles Sealsfield: Ethnic Elements and National Problems in his Works. By B. A. Uhlendorf, Ph.D. (Chicago, German-American Historical Society of Illinois, 1922, pp. viii, 242.) American life in the earlier years of the nineteenth century was painted by several German men of letters. These pictures were sometimes not flattering, as in the case of Lenau and Kürnberger. Other men showed sympathy and understanding for the new institutions which grew up before their observing eyes. To the latter group belongs the Austrian Karl Postl, who wrote, under the name of Charles Sealsfield, a number of novels and sketches. These were based upon observations made during his travels in the United States, which covered several extended periods between 1823 and 1830.

Sealsfield had run away from oppression at home and immensely enjoyed the free institutions of America. He brings home a message of American liberty and independence to his German readers, who were passing at that time through a period of intense and narrow conservatism. Sealsfield's presentation of American life has largely contributed to the great interest in the United States and the often exaggerated hopes which lured many Germans in the following decades to American shores.

But his great importance for the American historian does not so much lie in Sealsfield's grip on German imagination. It rests upon the historical truth of his presentation of early American life and institutions. Uhlendorf has analyzed these aspects of Sealsfield's writings and shows how they reflect political, economic, and social conditions in America, like colonization, relations of Indians to the white race, great historical events, and the national types. Like all foreign observers, Sealsfield was much interested in the national character of the Americans and such types as the Kentuckian, the backwood settler, the Frenchman in Louisiana, the negro, the Yankee, and the German.

Since Sealsfield was an Austrian he was naturally much interested in the German element in America, and his writings form a valuable source for the history of the Germans in America. This point of view is duly emphasized in Uhlendorf's treatment of the author.

A. C. NOÉ.

The Presidential Campaign of 1832. By Samuel Rhea Gammon, jr., Ph.D., Professor of History in Austin College. [Studies in Historical and Political Science, series XL., no. 1.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1922, pp. 180, \$1.50.) This monograph covers a longer period than is indicated by the title, for the opening of the campaign is located in midsummer of 1830, and much attention is given to the events of the first year of Jackson's presidency. Moreover the first chapter is given over to a consideration of party reorganization, 1824-1828. Such a broad inter-

pretation of the title was made necessary, if for no other reason, because of the avowed objectives of the author. He has undertaken to show the party development and manoeuvres which brought about the alignment of leaders and voters in 1832. He has given special attention to the use of the nominating convention, emphasizing its part in party formation. A separate chapter is devoted to party nomenclature, 1824-1832.

In the matter of the use of party names, as far as it may be judged by what men said of themselves and of each other, the author has added materially to our knowledge. Particularly is this true of the data taken from the contemporary newspapers. But on the more difficult questions involved in the determination of the personnel of party groups, and the identity of party leadership, Mr. Gammon has, because of his acceptance of an all-inclusive meaning of party, told a story which is on the whole familiar to all who know the Jackson period. He has told it interestingly and well. An examination of the votes in Congress, particularly in the Senate, would have added. For example, it would have given earlier date to the formation of an opposition platform, it would have brought out more clearly the party aspect of the debate on the Foot Resolution, and it would have shown just how the various elements of the Jackson party held together on matters of patronage. It is difficult to see how such groupings can be ignored in telling of the party manoeuvres of these years.

A limitation of objective may well help to explain the omission from the bibliography of certain monographs, particularly those of more recent date. Eight groups of papers in the Library of Congress have been used, particularly the Jackson and Van Buren papers. The papers of Duff Green are not included, and they would have been found to contain some material. Stanwood's *Presidential Elections* (edition of 1892), rather than the later work, is cited. The table of votes for the election of 1832 is compiled from *Niles' Register*.

EDGAR E. ROBINSON.

History of Banking in Iowa. By Howard H. Preston. [Iowa Economic History Series, edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh.] (Iowa City, Iowa, State Historical Society of Iowa, 1922, pp. xv, 458, \$2.00.) The publications of the State Historical Society of Iowa, all carefully written and competently edited, comprise sets or series devoted to themes social, political, biographical, and economic.

The volume at hand belongs to the series on economics, and is the result of intelligent and exhaustive research. It traces the growth of banking in Iowa from the time (1846) when banks were definitely forbidden there as "a set of swindling machines" to the time (1919) when the state, though ranking but tenth in banking resources or just under a billion dollars, contained more banking institutions than any other state in the Union.

Our author treats his subject under such headings as Frontier Banking in Iowa, the State Bank of Iowa, the Present Banking System, the Fed-

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eral Reserve System, Building and Loan Associations, Farm Mortgage Banking, etc. Of the Federal Reserve System as seen in Iowa, it is our author's opinion that, despite a certain dislike of it at the start, "it has so amply justified its place as the centralizing factor in banking as to warrant all state banks in entering". Much attention (and properly) is bestowed upon Farm Mortgage Banking. The state, it is shown, stands (1916) "at the head of the corn-belt states, based on land value per acre". Therefore, since 1919, it may be said to cost, to buy an average Iowa farm (156 acres), about \$50,000. So stable are Iowa farm values that of the total sums invested by insurance companies, throughout the country, in farm mortgages, fully one-fourth are in Iowa. In 1921 the total of all Iowa farm mortgages was perhaps from \$800,000,000 to \$1,000,000,000, yielding to the investor from 5 to 5½ per cent. interest, annually; yet, observes our author, "farm mortgages have generally proved the foundation of prosperity for Iowa farmers".

On the other hand, the fact is noted that in the supervision of banking, Iowa "ranks [only] fairly well". "The supervision of private banks even yet continues to be lax and wholly inadequate."

The volume ends with a highly useful chapter—a chapter in which the varied functions of banking are briefly yet clearly expounded for the benefit of the general reader.

IRVING B. RICHMAN.

The Canadian Reciprocity Treaty of 1854. By Charles C. Tansill, Ph.D., Professor of American History in the American University, Washington, D. C. [Studies in Historical and Political Science, series XL., no. 2.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1922, pp. 96. \$1.00.) This monograph, of about seventy pages, is one chapter of the author's forthcoming life of William L. Marcy. In it Professor Tansill has not attempted to deal with the Canadian reciprocity treaty as an economic experiment. Its operation and its results do not concern him; possibly because they both, in a measure, lie outside the lifetime of Marcy, who died in 1857. What he has given is the history of the project—the familiar narrative of the events which preceded the drawing-up of the reciprocity agreement and a discussion of the diplomatic and legislative bargainings which led to its adoption.

As an incident in the public life of President Pierce's Secretary of State a presentation of this kind finds a proper place in his biography. But as an account of the treaty of 1854 with Canada it is not new and it is not complete. This statement, however, should be taken as a comment rather than a criticism of the limitations of this chapter.

Professor Tansill has done his work of consulting the public archives with great patience and his method displays thoroughgoing scholarship. He makes use of two sources of information not found in other accounts. One is the hitherto unpublished Marcy papers. These, while

supplying nothing of great historical value, throw an interesting light on the workings of the practical, political mind of Marcy, and indicate his part in shaping the details of the treaty. The other is a document which the author has found in the State Department at Washington. This is an official statement by Israel D. Andrews, Marcy's agent in Canada, accounting for the manner in which he spent nearly \$19,000 of United States government money in his effort to "silence opposition" and to "promote a more favorable attitude" toward the treaty in the Canadian maritime provinces. His vouchers and explanations are the most interesting part of the whole narrative, and Professor Tansill makes effective use of them.

Whether these questionable disbursements reflect any discredit upon Andrews's chief the author does not say. They are certainly suggestive, and, although they do not modify the story in any significant way, they furnish an original element in the diplomatic history of the treaty.

CHALFANT ROBINSON.

The Story of the Santa Fe. By Glenn Danford Bradley, Associate Professor of History, Toledo University. (Boston, Richard G. Badger, 1920, pp. 288, \$3.00.) The author's first-hand investigation covers the period from the railroad booms of the late 'fifties in Kansas down to 1887, when the Santa Fé built into Chicago and became a transcontinental system with terminals on the Great Lakes, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Pacific Ocean. His accounts of the beginnings of the Santa Fé, its colonizing enterprises, its contest with the Denver and Rio Grande for control of the Royal Gorge or Grand Canyon of the Arkansas and the Raton Pass into New Mexico, and its struggle with the Southern Pacific for an outlet on the California coast are solid and informing. Graphic accounts of the building of the lines to the Gulf and to Chicago round out the book. Financial and engineering problems receive adequate treatment.

But the introductory survey on the Spanish Southwest (ch. I.) is quite unhistorical. There is no reason for saying (p. 20) that Cabeza de Vaca came up the Arkansas and followed the Santa Fé trail into New Mexico: his northern limit was on the Rio Grande near El Paso. No caravan of 1500 Spaniards went from Santa Fé to settle in the Upper Mississippi Valley in 1716 (p. 20): there were not 1500 in Santa Fé, and Villasur's expedition to the Platte in 1720 contained only 110 men. It is inaccurate to say (p. 20) that after this "it appears that no white men attempted to cross the prairies until the nineteenth century": the Mallet party came from the Missouri River to Santa Fé in 1739 and returned the following year; the Satren party came from Louisiana in 1749; Chapuis came from Illinois in 1752; and Vial's expedition went from Santa Fé to St. Louis in 1792 and returned the following spring. Santa Fé was not founded by Oñate in 1598 (p. 21), nor until beyond midsummer, 1609, after Oñate's retirement. Becknell's first trading ex-

pedition to Santa Fé (p. 26) was in 1822 (not 1812) and had twenty-one men instead of five. Wagons were first used that year (not in 1824). There was no overland trade to Santa Fé (p. 28) prior to 1822. The stage-coach (p. 28) did not run until 1849. The Confederates entered New Mexico in 1861, not 1862 (p. 48).

JOHN H. VAUGHAN.

Lincoln: an Account of his Personal Life, especially of its Springs of Action as revealed and deepened by the Ordeal of War. By Nathaniel Wright Stephenson. (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1922, pp. x, 474, \$3.00.) Here is a volume quite without a parallel in the long list of Lincolniana. The author has attempted not a mere biography but, what is more difficult, a progressive character study of one of the most complex figures of history. In dealing with motives, with the well-springs of thought and action, he has undertaken probably the most difficult kind of task in historical criticism. It is a pleasure to be able to state that he has discharged the task with quite conspicuous success. The result is a picture more nearly like the original than any so far offered by biographers of Lincoln.

Mr. Stephenson threads his way through Lincoln's early years with discrimination and judgment. There is a bit of impressionism about his art. He lingers over certain early influences, but readily discards the obviously apocryphal legends. Then he hastens on, unfortunately ignoring the Mexican War stand and the rôle played in helping to bring out the candidacy of General Taylor—this, in order to point out the failure of the Congressional career. Everything works toward "the literary statesman", first clearly revealed in the campaign of 1858—for Lincoln was fundamentally an "artist in politics", says our author.

The bulk of the volume is given over to the struggle between President Lincoln and "the Jacobin club", as he calls the Republican "vindictives", after John Hay. It is skillfully and dramatically portrayed. One sees, perhaps, too much of the hero in Lincoln and the villain in his critics; at such times the narrative is hardly fair to the radical Republicans, hardly even to "Zach" Chandler *et al.*—there is little suggestion of the pressure of public opinion behind them. One gets, too, the impression that Lincoln was putting all his energies into efforts to thwart the "Jacobins". But the breadth and depth of Lincoln's soul come out effectively; if he becomes less the "great Emancipator", he becomes more the "great Conciliator".

Mr. Stephenson writes easily and interestingly. Now and then he wears threadbare by constant repetition a pet word like "basal" and at times his narrative is obscure. The bibliography, without pretending to be complete, has a few conspicuous omissions; the index is perfunctory. But these are minor matters. If the author has not given us the "great Life" of Lincoln for which we have been waiting, he has ushered in a new epoch in historical biography.

ARTHUR C. COLE.

The Real Lincoln: a Portrait. By Jesse W. Weik. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1922, pp. xx, 323, \$4.00.) This valuable contribution to the data of Lincoln's life is frankly marginalia. In the thirty years since the appearance of Herndon's *Lincoln*, Mr. Weik, with inexhaustible patience, has gone over the trails mapped by his famous collaborator and has minutely re-examined their way-marks. The result is a general reassertion of the conclusions reached so long ago. Incidentally, much minor evidence has been accumulated; but it is fair to say that the new matter does not alter any of the main lines of the old portrait. Herndon's *Lincoln*, for Mr. Weik, is still the real Lincoln.

As might be expected in a work of marginalia, it is with regard to the obscure, or the incidental, matters that the search of the collector has been most laborious. For example, there is a bit of rather telling confirmation of Herndon's story, so much debated, that Lincoln failed to appear on the date set for his wedding. An entry in Mr. Weik's diary records a conversation with Mrs. N. W. Edwards, Mary Lincoln's elder sister, reaffirming the Herndon story. However, the date of the entry is more than forty years subsequent to the event. Though Mr. Weik asserts his own impartiality as to this classical bit of gossip, if he does not mean to clinch the Herndon story for good and all the reviewer has missed his guess. As to Mrs. Lincoln's character, Mr. Weik is plainly in the Herndon camp, holding that she was a good deal of a Tartar. He introduces a quotation from David Davis—"Lincoln was not happy domestically"—in a way that gives it almost, if not quite, the force of an authoritative statement.

Among the oddities of the volume are some lists of Mrs. Lincoln's purchases from a Springfield merchant. The most costly item is a mantle at \$18. The account-book in which these entries occur was hastily reclaimed by its owner when Mr. Weik discovered the entry, "1 Bottle Brandy", charged to Lincoln, himself. Nevertheless, Mr. Weik has no hesitation in reaffirming the tradition—which John Hay seems to question—that Lincoln, in his maturity, never used either spirits or tobacco. He preserves a confidence reposed in him by "a gentleman who was living in Springfield", who said that Lincoln had consulted him upon offering wine to the Notification Committee in 1860. Lincoln appears to have been uncertain for a moment what to do, but to have decided definitely in advance upon the course he is known to have followed, offering the committee cold water.

Mr. Weik champions stoutly Herndon's theory that Lincoln was a poor judge of men. He goes further and makes much of the fact, obvious enough, that Lincoln was often indifferent to the quality of the human tools with which he worked. Very significant in Mr. Weik's eyes are such views as those of Horace White, with his insistence that Lincoln in distributing patronage often went against his own conscience simply because the line of least resistance led that way. He seems to

agree with Mr. White, in a passage which he quotes, to the effect that Lincoln was injured seriously in the minds of honest people by his dealings with Cameron after the latter returned from Russia. All very true in a way, and yet—one may be an excellent investigator, or even a conscientious publicist, and not have precisely the endowment necessary to gauge with psychological accuracy so strange a character as Lincoln.

N. W. S.

The Disruption of Virginia. By James C. McGregor, Ph.D. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1922, pp. xiv, 328, \$2.00.) This book is a doctor's thesis of 1913 plus several supplementary chapters, done under the supervision of Professor McMaster. The author is now professor of history and political science in Washington and Jefferson College. Its aim is to present "an unbiased account" of the "strange course of events in the history of Virginia" from Lincoln's election to the admission of West Virginia. The "Bibliographical Note" mentions specifically only Ambler's *Sectionalism in Virginia* and Hall's *The Rending of Virginia* (the latter "misleading and harmful") and the Carlile papers. The source-material, however, while not evaluated or even listed, seems to be adequate and honestly used. Particularly emphasized is the "original manuscript of the first constitutional convention" of West Virginia "heretofore never used" and "soon to be printed as a state document"; this, however, appears to be the "Hall manuscript" used by Callahan in *The Evolution of the Constitution of West Virginia*. There is an undated map of Virginia and an index containing chiefly proper names.

Seventy-five pages paralleling but not duplicating Ambler's *Sectionalism* and a hundred covering the Virginia Secession Convention and its immediate preliminaries constitute a background that is readable but entirely too long. The main subject is the "disruption". This the author flatly declares "was not desired by more than a small minority". True there had been very serious sectional controversies. But after 1851 political quiet prevailed. In 1861 the western counties were anti-Secession but not pro-Union. The division was accomplished in the interest of the valleys of the Monongahela and the upper Ohio by the activity of Wheeling and the neighboring counties, urged on by Republican leaders in Congress. In proof the author analyzes the popular votes and the membership of conventions, mentions the farcical irregularity of elections, cites opinion after opinion expressed in newspapers and debates, and urges the constitutional convention's refusal to permit a vote by counties or even to publish its debates. He thus establishes that a minority controlled, with the majority inactive and probably hostile. Unfortunately he compiles without analyzing and argues instead of summarizing. Moreover, could he not have described the engineers of "disruption" and the interests they subserved or told the decision of debates on such matters as the oath and the inclusion of counties (chs. XVI. and XVII.)?

But defects should not be pressed unduly. The subject is interesting, the main contention important, and the contribution worth while.

C. C. PEARSON.

The Populist Movement in Georgia: a View of the "Agrarian Crusade" in the Light of Solid-South Politics. By Alex Mathews Arnett, Ph.D., Professor of History in Furman University. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. CIV., no. 1.] (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1922, pp. 239, \$2.50.) Though the author, to quote his own words, was "more intent upon illustrating some of the main currents of American life in the past fifty years than upon presenting a fragment of state history", and has carefully correlated the local history of Populism with the movement in the nation at large, he has yet produced a fairly satisfactory political history of Georgia covering the last three decades of the nineteenth century.

Populism in Georgia is shown to have been a revolt of the small farmer element against the political control of the business man in politics. The bases of this revolt were the wretched crop-lien system, which had enabled the town supply merchants practically to enslave the farming element; and the hard times of the period. Low prices of farm products in the 'nineties led to the demand for cheap money, the silver agitation now superseding the greenback craze.

The Populist party in Georgia never succeeded in capturing the state government. It did, however, force the Democratic organization to embrace most of its reform demands. An interesting by-product of the Populist movement was the disfranchisement of the negro. It is well known that the movement died out in the 'nineties, largely on account of the gradual return of prosperity.

Arnett is generally sympathetic to the attitude of the farmers. Their grievances are considered real and capable of governmental relief. He is not so sure but that there was virtue in the silverite demand for more money, and the best he can say for Cleveland in his courageous fight to maintain the gold standard is: "In the sober light of history one is inclined to exonerate him from moral culpability. In a very trying situation, he acted, no doubt, according to his own best judgment, but he saw the question from one angle only" (p. 174).

The author has surpassed any other student of the period in the thoroughness with which he has canvassed all the existing and available sources of state history. He has used a number of first-hand sources not hitherto used by anyone, such as the papers of Thomas E. Watson and Governor Northen. The services of the public men of the period are well and fairly appraised, except in the case of Watson. Arnett missed an excellent opportunity to point out the lasting evil effects of this man's remarkable hold on his following.

The proof-reading of the volume is not well done. More than a score of errors were allowed to pass undetected—typographical errors, misuse

of words, misspellings, and bad punctuation. The date of Cobb's death is given as 1870 (p. 23) instead of 1868, and that of the Tax Equalization Act as 1910 (p. 226) instead of 1913.

R. P. BROOKS.

The British in Iowa. By Jacob Van der Zee. (Iowa City, State Historical Society of Iowa, 1922, pp. 340, \$2.50.) The British in Iowa, as the subject is set forth by Jacob Van der Zee, is almost a romance. "In Iowa," says our author, "long called the garden spot of the Mississippi Valley, historians have not yet followed all the streams of native-born Americans and of foreigners that have poured into its fertile fields. . . . Much remains to be done before the Iowa chapter in that remarkable romance of immigration and settlement, begun less than ninety years ago, can be called complete."

On first taking up Dr. Van der Zee's book, one might surmise it to be an account from original sources of British fur-traders in the Iowa country, from the period of the War of 1812; but it is not that at all. It relates wholly to quiet times to the west of the Mississippi. Indeed so quiet are the times of which it treats that they seem well-nigh pastoral and Arcadian.

Thus runs the tale. About fifty years ago, three brothers—John, James, and William Close—were all members of the varsity crew of Cambridge University, England, and rowed eight times against Oxford on the Thames. This showed their mettle. In 1876 one of the brothers, William, persuaded some Trinity College men to come to Philadelphia and take part in the races held there in connection with the Centennial Exposition. As a result of it all, William married an American girl, became deeply interested in American farming, and established an English colony in Iowa near Le Mars. The colony flourished to such a degree that, later, it was said that Le Mars "was a centre for 500 wealthy Englishmen, many of them of noble blood". There were games and sports—cricket and horse-racing—and a club was founded, the Prairie Club. But by degrees it began to become evident that the colony was not to be a permanent success. The disappearance of free range for cattle and sheep, labor scarcity, and a certain extravagance on the part of the younger unmarried element, bred discouragement and homesickness, until, in our author's words, "not many can be found living there to-day".

Of the members of the Prairie Club, it is interesting to note that one became Earl St. Vincent; another, Earl of Buckinghamshire; and another, Lord Queensborough.

Dr. Van der Zee's book contains useful statistics on the British elements contributed to the population of Iowa—some 150,000 perhaps, between 1885 and 1915.

I. B. R.

Welfare Work in Iowa. By Marcus L. Hansen. (Iowa City, State Historical Society, 1921, pp. xv, 321, \$2.00.) The present volume of the

Iowa Chronicles of the World War is of general interest not only as a careful account of what was done by civilians of one state for military forces quartered within its borders, but also because it is in a large degree typical of work done by the same national societies, or by local organizations, in every state which housed such camps. In its review of criticisms of war welfare work chapter XI. recalls an attitude of mind that will be familiar to those who worked on either side of the Atlantic. The account of activities at Camp Dodge, at Fort Des Moines, in Des Moines city, and wherever called for throughout the state, includes much detail in small space and recounts the services of organizations large and small, of men and of women, with impartiality and understanding. The practical idealism of those years is shown by the preliminary statement of the general purposes of such work. The chapters on social, recreational, religious, athletic, and educational work each record the larger intent of its particular phase as well as the number of dances given, hymns sung, or ball games played.

The frequent references to official documents or current publications are gathered at the end of the book, leaving the text unencumbered. There is a good index of sixteen pages.

S. F.

Under Four Administrations: from Cleveland to Taft. Recollections of Oscar S. Straus, Litt.D., LL.D., Member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hague, three times Minister and Ambassador to Turkey, former Secretary of Commerce and Labor. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1922, pp. xiii, 456, \$4.00.) In August, 1854, a Jewish woman started for America from a small village in Rhenish Bavaria. She had suffered a paralytic stroke three years before and, moreover, she had to take with her four children, of whom the oldest was only nine. The courage and ambition which the mother possessed were apparently inherited by the children. At any rate, the youngest, who at that time was only three and a half, became three times minister and ambassador from his adopted country to Turkey, Secretary of Commerce and Labor, and all that Oscar S. Straus as a publicist has been. Perhaps these facts alone would justify an autobiography.

Mr. Straus devotes little time in the account of his life to anecdotes and gossip, which form such a fraction of the autobiographies of Andrew Carnegie and Chauncey M. Depew. It more nearly resembles the serious and fact-giving autobiography of his hero, Theodore Roosevelt.

The greater part of the book is an account of the problems which Mr. Straus met in his three terms at Constantinople beginning in 1887, 1898, and 1909. These chapters are of more interest, naturally, to the diplomat and student of international relations than to the general student of American history. If Mr. Straus's experience is typical, a successful ambassador should be politic, hospitable, resourceful, persistent in a quiet way, and have the digestive powers of an ostrich. Mr. Straus attended

diplomatic dinners as frequently as the characters in *The Pickwick Papers* refreshed themselves with the cup that cheers.

To the general historian some of the most interesting portions of the book are the following: the light thrown on the characteristics of Cleveland and Roosevelt; the contrast between the attitude toward the labor problem shown at the time of the Pullman strike and during Roosevelt's administration (pp. 194-196); Straus's slight contact with "dollar diplomacy" (p. 297); his guess that Roosevelt would have been elected in 1912 had it not been for the plank on the recall of judicial decisions (p. 311); his quick-witted attempt to take advantage of Bernstorff's claim that Germany would welcome American mediation in 1914 (pp. 378 ff.); and the statement that Roosevelt believed as late as February 2, 1917, that the United States would not become involved in the European crisis (p. 387).

On the whole, Mr. Straus's autobiography is substantial, serious, and worth while. It was good for America that the Bavarian mother emigrated with her children in 1854.

C. R. L.

The Letters of Franklin K. Lane, Personal and Political. Edited by Anne Wintermute Lane and Louise Herrick Wall. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1922, pp. xxiv, 473, \$5.00.) In judging men who have held high public office one must ask what they have done and how they have done it, but frequently the question arises as to what they would have done had their initiative been unlimited, had they had an opportunity to choose their occasions, and to be inventors as well as routineers. With statesmen who have been at the head of things, this last question is all important: they must be judged not only by what they did but by what they chose to do, by the responsibilities they were willing to assume, and the policies they selected to sponsor. In the case of Franklin K. Lane, however, this last consideration does not figure. Only in early life, in California politics, could he be an inventor. Later, as Interstate Commerce Commissioner and Secretary of the Interior, he did much and did it well, but one wonders what he could have done if he had had a real chance in politics as well as in administration. His career gave evidence of much greater ability than he had a chance to display; his letters and memoranda, more revealing of the man than of events, suggest a putative statecraft that the country could have made good use of.

The letters, which are edited by his widow, cover the period of Lane's active life: politics and journalism, 1884-1894; law and politics, 1894-1906; the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Wilson Cabinets. The early letters are the more interesting, while those dealing with the later period are more important. They throw some light on the workings of the group of chief clerks which we call a "Cabinet", but there are no startling disclosures. There are some minutes of Cabinet meetings, but it is astonishing that, being at the centre of things, Lane kept so few records, although this may have been due to President Wilson's failure

to confide, as much as to Lane's inclination. It is regrettable that the letters and memoranda are given with little explanatory account of what was happening at the time and even, in some cases, with no identification of the people with whom Lane corresponded.

In one of his letters Lane describes himself as "a wild cross between a crazy Irishman with dreams, desires, fancies—and a dour Scot with his conscience and his logical bitterness against himself—and his eternal drive". Again, he tells an editor that he must go elsewhere for his "uplift stuff" on the "moral benefits" of the war, which is certain to make "sheer brutes" out of us. Flashes of honesty, political imagination, and poetical feeling run through the letters and make the reader regret that Lane's niche was a minor Cabinet post. That he was compelled to retire from office for financial reasons was a grievous loss and is a sad commentary on the conditions of public service in the United States.

LINDSAY ROGERS.

HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The Committee on Programme for the Columbus meeting, December, 1923, invites the members of the American Historical Association to send it the description of papers they would be ready to prepare or information regarding possible papers of other members. Brief technical papers for the special conferences and more elaborate ones for the general sessions will be desired. From the suggestions of the members the committee will select those which promise to make the programme attractive. Communications of this kind should be sent to the chairman, Professor Elbert J. Benton, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, before May 1.

The American Council of Learned Societies held its annual meeting in New York on January 27. Nearly all the constituent societies devoted to humanistic studies were represented, the American Historical Association by its two delegates, Messrs. Haskins (chairman of the Council) and Jameson. Among the matters dealt with, two may be mentioned as of especial interest to members of the Historical Association. One was the report of the committee on a dictionary of medieval Latin, an international enterprise which, under the auspices of the Union Académique Internationale, is being considered by the academies affiliated in that Union. The Council (representative of the United States in the Union) has had a committee on the subject. The plan finally concerted by the UAI, however, contemplates the preparation, first, by international effort, in which the United States is prepared to take a substantial part, of a dictionary of the Latin of the period from about A. D. 500 to the middle of the eleventh century, and then the possibility that the later medieval periods will be covered by special dictionaries prepared for each nation of western Europe. Accordingly the Council, at the January meeting, established two committees, one, for aid in the international undertaking covering the earlier period, to consist of Professors C. H. Beeson of Chicago (chairman), W. A. Oldfather, L. J. Paetow, E. K. Rand, and F. N. Robinson, the other, for co-operation with the English scholars in work on the medieval Latin terms used in English writings after the Conquest, to consist of Professors George B. Adams (chairman), J. G. Gerould, Nellie Neilson, and J. S. P. Tatlock. Secondly, it was reported, from the Committee on a Dictionary of American Biography, that means had been obtained for holding meetings of the committee this spring for careful consideration of the whole project and the framing of estimates of cost, after which efforts will be made to raise the necessary means for execution of this highly important enterprise. This committee consists of J. F. Jameson, chairman, John Erskine of Columbia University, Thomas W.

Page of the Institute of Economics, Frederic L. Paxson of Wisconsin, Frederick J. Turner of Harvard, and Robert S. Woodward, ex-president of the Carnegie Institution. It holds its first meeting on April 6.

At the instance of the Association, the Library of Congress is revising its information as to the location of important collections of papers of Americans prominent in civil, religious, military, and business life. It desires this particularly for the purpose of widening the scope of the compilation issued by it in 1918, and of bringing the list up to date. The co-operation of libraries and other possessors is desired, and should be given.

PERSONAL

Mason W. Tyler, associate professor of history in the University of Minnesota, died on March 15, at the early age of 38. He had a part, jointly with Professor W. S. Davis, in the book called *The Roots of the War* (1918), and had finished before his death a volume on *The European Powers and the Near East*. He was a young man of brilliant promise, with clear and rapid insight into historical matters, a cultivated mind, high character, and most engaging personal qualities.

Frédéric Masson, perpetual secretary of the French Academy, died on February 19, at the age of seventy-five. In early life he was in close relations to Prince Napoleon, and for a number of years librarian to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He was the author of a long series of most interesting volumes on the personal aspects of Napoleon's history and on the biography of various members of his family.

Roland Delachenal, author of the standard *Histoire de Charles V.* (3 vols., 1909, 1916), died on January 30. The two remaining volumes of his book were completed before his death, and will be published before long.

Professor John S. Bassett of Smith College will teach in the University of Chicago during the approaching summer.

Professor Charles M. Andrews has leave of absence from Yale University during the next academic year, and will spend it in Europe.

Professors Theodore C. Smith of Williams College and Laurence M. Larson of the University of Illinois have leave of absence for the second semester of the present academic year.

Professor Evarts B. Greene, of the University of Illinois, has accepted election as professor of American history in Columbia University, Baron Serge Korff, of Washington, as professor of the history of Eastern Europe, Professor W. L. Westermann, of Cornell University, as professor of ancient history—all to begin their service next autumn.

Associate Professors Percy A. Martin and Edgar E. Robinson have been given the full rank of professors in Leland Stanford University.

GENERAL

The Sixty-seventh Congress came to the end of its term on March 4 without making any provision for a National Archive Building. The Treasury inserted such an appropriation in its estimates, but unfortunately the Director of the Budget cut it out, and the House Committee on Appropriations made no provision for the matter in any of its appropriation bills. The Senate attached to the Independent Offices Appropriation Bill two amendments, one coming from Senator Smoot, the Public Buildings Commission, and the Senate Committee on Appropriations, providing \$1,000,000 for the purchase of filing stacks and their installation in the interior court of the Pension Office Building, and the other offered by Senator Poindexter, providing \$500,000 for the beginning of construction of the building on land owned by the government. The first of these two amendments would have made a makeshift provision, unsafe and unsatisfactory. Both amendments were lost in conference, the House conferees objecting to the procedure by which the proposal came to them, and especially to the erection of any government building in Washington until a general Public Buildings Bill has been prepared, providing relief in respect to postal and other offices in many congressional districts.

Among the articles in the January number of the *Historical Outlook* are: Some Aspects of the Problem of China, by Professor G. M. Dutcher; Personal Traits of President Andrew Jackson, by F. J. Klingberg and Andrew Jackson; Fields for Research in Southern History after Reconstruction, by Professor Ella Lonn; and Possibilities for Historical Research in New Orleans, by Julie Koch. The February number is devoted largely to news of associations and committees. The March number contains a study, by Professor W. E. Tilberg, of the Responsibility for the Failure of Compromise in 1860, a paper by Harriet E. Tull on History as a Social Study, and the papers of Professors Beverley W. Bond, jr., Arthur M. Schlesinger, and Ralph H. Gabriel presented in the conference at New Haven, December 28, on the college course in American history.

History for January has an article on Rumanian Origins by Professor R. W. Seton-Watson, and an interesting brief discussion of the Navigation Act of 1651, by Mr. G. N. Clark, who concludes "that the Act was the work of a small body of interested persons, that it did little or no good to English and no fatal harm to Dutch commerce, and that it was not the most important among the several causes of the first Dutch war".

In the *Journal of Negro History* for January there are two articles of importance, one on the educational efforts of the Freedmen's Bureau and Freedmen's Aid Societies in South Carolina, 1862-1872, by Luther P. Jackson, and one on the Religion of the American Negro Slave, by G. R. Wilson; also a brief account of Prudence Crandall, by G. S. Wormley.

Editors and others interested in the putting of historical manuscripts into print will find in the Belgian *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'His-*

toire, LXXXVI. 2, a fresh issue of the Belgian code prepared for that purpose in 1896.

Professor W. Bauer of the University of Vienna, in his *Einführung in das Studium der Geschichte* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1921), discusses the definition of history, and analyzes the points of view of the different schools of thought in historical writing, and the several methods of historical exposition, besides furnishing a considerable amount of methodological material.

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History, has brought out *Military Industries of Japan*, by Ushisaburo Kobayashi, D. C. L., who states in his preface that the investigation has been accomplished chiefly by Mr. Norimoto Masuda. The work is in two parts, the one an historical survey of the military industries, the other discussions of the economic effects of the military industries on industrial policy, manufacturing industry, primitive industry, commerce, communication, and on various social aspects of national life (New York, Oxford University Press). The Endowment has also published *Monetary and Banking Policy of Chile*, by Guillermo Subercaseaux, professor of political economy in the University of Chile, an historical survey of the monetary history of Chile, from the colonial period to 1919, with discussions of various aspects of the Chilean system and policy; *Recent Economic Developments in Russia*, by K. Leites, edited by Professor Harald Westergaard of Copenhagen (New York, Oxford University Press); *The Co-operative Movement in Yugoslavia, Rumania, and North Italy during and after the World War*, by Diarmid Coffey (New York, Oxford University Press); and *Food Production in War*, by Sir Thomas H. Middleton, deputy director-general of the British Food Production Department.

For the benefit of the Survey of English Place-Names, in which many English historical and philological scholars have engaged under the auspices of the British Academy, Professor Allen Mawer of Newcastle-on-Tyne has printed a most interesting lecture on *Place-Names and History* (London, Hodder and Stoughton, pp. 38), delivered by him last autumn before the Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle-on-Tyne.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. C. Dowdall, *The Word "State"* (Law Quarterly Review, January); W. A. Dunning, *Liberty and Equality in International Relations* (American Political Science Review, February); Julius Goebel, jr., *The Equality of States*, I., II. (Columbia Law Review, January, February); W. Barbour (with preface by Sir P. Vinogradoff), *The Meaning of Legal History* (Columbia Law Review, December).

ANCIENT HISTORY

General reviews: G. Contenau, *Les Résultats des Études Assyriennes* (Revue Historique, November); M. Besnier, *Histoire Ancienne*, 1921,

II. *Rome et le Monde Romain* (Revue des Questions Historiques, January).

The first volume of the *Cambridge Ancient History* (Cambridge University Press) includes chapters on primitive man, on discoveries respecting early archaeology in the Near East, on the earlier portions of Egyptian and Babylonian history, on prehistoric Greece, and on early civilizations in the Aegean.

One of the chief international enterprises of scholarship undertaken by the Union Académique Internationale is that of an elaborately illustrated *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, embracing all the antique vases of the Mediterranean and the Near East. The scholars of each country—thus far, France, Belgium, Denmark, Great Britain, the Netherlands, and Italy—will prepare and publish its own section, but the procedure and format will be uniform. The general editor is M. Edmond Pottier, director of the Musée du Louvre. The French part, of which the first fascicle has lately been published, will consist of 50 such parts, each composed of 48 phototype plates and 50 or 60 quarto pages of text. This first fascicle (Paris, Champion) makes a beginning of a *Recueil Général des Vases du Louvre*. Parts for the museums of Compiègne and Copenhagen, and for the collection of Mr. Lunsingh-Scheurleer at the Hague, are in press.

The first edition of the English translation of the late Gaston Maspero's *The Dawn of Civilization: Egypt and Chaldaea* (S. P. C. K.) appeared in 1894, the fourth in 1904. Reprinted once already in 1910, this standard work has been issued again, unchanged, with the imprint of 1922.

Mr. Arthur Weigall, formerly inspector general of antiquities to the Egyptian government, has lately issued through Messrs. Thornton Butterworth a volume on excavations and various other subjects in Egyptology entitled *The Glory of the Pharaohs*.

A doctoral monograph by C. A. Lazzaridès bears the promising title of *De l'Évolution des Relations Internationales de l'Égypte Pharaonique* (Paris, Les Presses Universitaires de France, 1922, pp. x, 280).

The Clarendon Press has published volume II. of Sir Paul Vinogradoff's *Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence*, dealing with the jurisprudence of the Greek city.

Sir Thomas Heath, controller-general of the National Debt Office, after a variety of lesser contributions to the subject, has published through the Clarendon Press a *History of Greek Mathematics*, in two volumes, which is apparently destined to be regarded as a standard work on that interesting subject.

Messrs. Dent of London have in preparation another new series entitled *The Library of Greek Thought*, edited by Principal Ernest Barker of King's College, small volumes presenting translations of selected passages from the chief works of Greek thinkers bearing on a given theme. Two

of the volumes, *Greek Religious Thought*, by F. M. Cornford, and *The Foundation of Economics*, by M. W. Laistner, are ready this spring.

In the *Loeb Classical Library* (Putnam) the first two volumes of six devoted to Polybius have been published, with translation by W. A. Paton, the third of four volumes of Herodotus, the second of thirteen volumes of Livy, and the second of Xenophon's *Anabasis*, together with the *Symposium* and *Apology*.

The Pontifical Roman Academy of Archaeology proposes to publish, by subscription, an important work on the history of Latium in the earliest period (stone age and part of the iron age) by Signor Giovanni Pinza, *Storia della Civiltà Latina dalle Origine al V. Sec. a. C.*, printed in some 600 pages, with 150 photozincographic plates and three maps in colors.

Professor E. Täubler's *Die Vorgeschichte des Zweiten Punischen Krieges* (Berlin, Schwetschke, 1921, pp. 121) presents certain aspects of Roman political and constitutional history in the latter half of the third century B. C., with some critical discussion of the sources.

A most important contribution to the ancient history of North Africa, of which the first volume (Paris, Champion, pp. xvi, 458) has already been published, is the series of *Inscriptions Latines de l'Algérie*, prepared under the auspices of the general government of Algeria by Professor Stéphane Gsell of the Collège de France. There will be four folio volumes, the first for the proconsular province of Africa, the second for the Cirtan confederation, the third for military Numidia, and the fourth for Mauretania Sitifensis and Caesariensis.

In *The Bronze Age and the Celtic World* (London, Benn, pp. 201), Mr. Harold Peake, lately president of the anthropological section of the British Association, prints the substance of six lectures given by him in the University College of Wales at Aberystwyth.

The *Megillat Taanit* is an Aramaic tract presenting a calendar of festal days commemorating various events in Hebrew history between the rebuilding of the Second Temple and its destruction by Titus. In *Megillat Taanit as a Source for Jewish Chronology and History in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods* (Philadelphia, Dropsie College dissertation, pp. 120) Dr. Solomon Zeitlin endeavors with its aid to reconcile the chronology of 1 Maccabees, 2 Maccabees, and Josephus.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: K. Sethe, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Amenophis' IV.* (Nachrichten von der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, ph.-hist. Kl., 1921, 2); M. W. Hauschild, *Die Kleinasiatischen Völker und ihre Beziehungen zu den Juden* (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, LII. 6); P. Graindor, *Études sur l'Éphébie Attique sous l'Empire* (Musée Belge, July-October); P. Waltz, *Les Artisans et leur Vie en Grèce, des Temps Homériques à l'Époque Classique; VII^e et VI^e Siècles; les Corps des Métiers*, I. (Revue Historique, November); M.

Holleaux, *L'Alliance de Rome et de l'Achaïe* (Revue des Études Grecques, October–December, 1921); L. Joulin, *La Protohistoire de la France du Sud et de la Péninsule Hispanique d'après les Découvertes Archéologiques Récentes* (Revue Archéologique, July–October).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

Jésus Historique (Strasbourg, 1922), by C. Piepenbring, is based primarily upon the theories of New Testament criticism of Loisy. While emphasizing the personality of Jesus, he attributes the moulding of the character of the Church primarily to the apostles, especially Saint Paul.

A History of the Church to A. D. 461, by Dr. B. J. Kidd, warden of Keble College (Clarendon Press, 3 vols., pp. 558, 472, 448), is a work of great learning of which the most prominent special feature is the great abundance of references, to both sources and modern authorities.

The first volume of *Saint Jérôme, sa Vie et son Oeuvre* (Paris, Champion, 1922), by F. Cavallera, contains an exhaustive biographical account.

In *Analecta Bollandiana*, XL. 3, 4, is an article by Father Paul Peeters on "Traduction et Traducteurs dans l'Hagiographie Orientale à l'Époque Byzantine", which may be read with profit by students nowise concerned with hagiography, treating of translations and translators, mostly from the Greek, into Syriac, Arabic, Coptic, Ethiopic, Armenian, and Georgian. In the same number Father Hippolyte Delehaye finishes his study of Egyptian martyrs.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. R. Knipfing, *The Edict of Galerius, 311 A. D., Reconsidered* (Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire, July); G. Beyerhaus, *Neuere Augustinprobleme* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXVII. 2.).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The Macmillan Company published at the end of January a *History of Magic and Experimental Science during the First Thirteen Centuries of our Era*, by Professor Lynn Thorndike of Western Reserve University, in two large volumes (pp. xl, 835; vi, 1036), the fruit of long-continued researches.

L'Imperatrice Angelberga, 850–890 (Milan, Lombardo, 1921), by G. Pochettino, is valuable not so much as a biographical account of the wife of Emperor Louis II. as for the information upon conditions and events in North Italy in the second half of the ninth century. The essay is based upon careful study of the sources.

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Ambrogio Contarini Politico e Viaggiatore Veneziano del Secolo XV. (Padua, Penada, 1921), by M. Di Leana, is a monograph study of a

Venetian ambassador to Persia at the close of the fifteenth century, whose travels and adventures took him to various parts of eastern Europe; as well as through the Near East.

The intervention of the diplomatic agents of the court of Naples in the negotiation of the Treaty of Jassy is described in *La Mediazione Napoletana nelle Trattative di Pace fra Russia e Turchia nel 1790-91* (Naples, 1921), by N. Cortese, who includes some letters of the Tsaritsa Catherine and Queen Maria Carolina.

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has published, through the Oxford University Press, *The Continental System: an Economic Interpretation*, by Dr. Eli F. Heckscher, professor of political economy in the University College of Commerce at Stockholm.

The Clarendon Press has lately published the sixth volume of Sir Charles Oman's *History of the Peninsular War*, running from Sept. 1, 1812, to Aug., 1813, and thus including the siege of Burgos, the Vittoria campaign, and the battles of the Pyrenees.

The *Souvenirs de la Princesse Pauline de Metternich, 1859-1871* (Paris, Plon, 1922, pp. xxxiv, 250) have been edited by M. Dunan.

Forty Years of Diplomacy, by Baron Rosen (London, Allen and Unwin; New York, Knopf, 2 vols.), is a record, by an intelligent and humane observer, of service to the Russian Foreign Office in Japan, Mexico, Serbia, and Munich, and especially in Tokyo in the period before the Russo-Japanese war, at Washington after it, and later in the Council of the Empire.

The Macmillan Company has brought out a volume by the well-known financier and economist, Gustave Cassel, entitled *Money and Foreign Exchange after 1914*, being a history of the world's monetary system from the outbreak of the war to the present time.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. de Landosle, *Le Congrès de Bade en Suisse, 1714*, II. (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, January); E. Bourgeois, *L'Alliance de Bonaparte et de Paul Ier, 1800-1801* (*Séances et Travaux de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques*, May-June); Michael Gavrilović, *The Early Diplomatic Relations of Great Britain and Serbia*, II. (*Slavonic Review*, December); F. Masson, *Lettres et Dépêches du Roi Victor Emmanuel II. et du Comte de Cavour au Prince Napoléon* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, January 1); P. Wentzcke, *Zur Luxemburger Frage von 1867* (*Deutsche Rundschau*, December); A. Savinsky, *Guillaume II. et la Russie—Ses Lettres et Dépêches à Nicolas II.* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, December 15); A. J. Grant, *The League of Nations and the Holy Alliance* (*Congregational Quarterly*, I. 1); Sir J. Rennell Rodd, *The Old and the New Diplomacy* (*Quarterly Review*, January); G. Ador, *L'Effort Financier de la Société des Nations* (*Séances et Travaux de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques*, March-April).

THE WORLD WAR

In Professor Shotwell's series of volumes of the *Economic and Social History of the World War*, the Oxford University Press has recently issued *A Bibliographical Survey of Contemporary Sources for the Economic and Social History of the World War* (pp. xx, 334), by M. E. Bulkley.

In *Die Fälschungen des Russischen Orangebuches* (Berlin, Vereinigung Wissenschaftlicher Verleger, 1922) G. von Romberg adduces somewhat meticulous and unconvincing evidence based very largely upon the differences which appear in a later edition of the Orange Book.

With his characteristic ability, Gabriel Hanotaux has written a two-volume work on *La Bataille de la Marne* (Paris, Plon, 1922), which readily takes rank as the standard historical study of the famous struggle.

General Ernst von Wrisberg, director from 1914 to 1918 of the General War Department of the Prussian Ministry of War, concludes his series of books on what may be called the relations of military to civil effort during the World War by a third volume, exceedingly instructive, on the history of war material, *Wehr und Waffen, 1914-1918* (Leipzig, Koehler).

The German Reichsarchiv has added to its series of *Schlachten des Weltkrieges* the first part of a study of *Die Schlacht bei St. Quentin*, prepared by Major Kurt Heydemann.

It appears that the late Sir Julian Corbett had practically completed before his death the third volume of the *Official Naval History of the Great War*, including the story of the Battle of Jutland. This volume Messrs. Longman expect to publish during the present season.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: General d'Amade, *Constantinople et les Dardanelles; l'Expédition de 1915*, I. (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, January); Gen. Tasker H. Bliss, *The Evolution of the Unified Command* (*Foreign Affairs*, December).

GREAT BRITAIN

Messrs. Dutton have included in *Everyman's Library* a volume of selections edited by Ernest Rhys, entitled *The Growth of Political Liberty: a Source Book of English History*.

The Oxford University Press has in preparation a volume containing the six Ford lectures on *Roman Britain* delivered at Oxford by the late Professor F. J. Haverfield.

Messrs. MacLehose, Jackson, and Company of Glasgow have lately published, under the direction of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, an elaborate illustrated account of *The Treasure of Traprain: a Scottish Hoard of Roman Silver Plate*, by Mr. Alexander O. Curle, under whose

direction the excavations consequent upon the wonderful discovery of 1914 were carried out.

Professor Baldwin Brown and Mr. Bruce Dickins have prepared for publication by the Cambridge University Press a *Corpus* of the runic inscriptions of Great Britain.

The Bedfordshire Historical Records Society has presented the most elaborate treatment thus far made of any portion of Domesday, in a volume edited by Mr. G. H. Fowler, entitled *Bedfordshire in 1086: an Analysis and Synthesis of Domesday Book*.

The Southampton Record Society has published, from the archives of that town, a volume of interesting and varied *Letters of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Southampton, Cox and Sharland, pp. xvi, 231).

Part I. of *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, the monumental work compiled by Dr. John Venn and J. A. Venn and extending from the earliest times to 1751, comprises, we are told, about 76,000 names, and is already complete in four volumes, while part II., which is in progress, will contain about 60,000 names of men who matriculated between 1752 and 1900. Volume I., A-C, and volume II., D-J, have already been issued (Cambridge University Press), books of about 500 pages of small print in double columns, conveying a most enormous amount of detailed information respecting Cambridge men.

A paper by Professor James Tait on *The Study of Early Municipal History in England*, read before the British Academy, has been published as a pamphlet by Humphrey Milford in advance of its appearance in volume X. of the Academy's *Proceedings*.

Father J. Hungerford Pollen, S.J., has edited for the Scottish History Society, with a careful introduction, in general defending Queen Mary, a volume of documents on *Mary Queen of Scots and the Babington Plot*.

The important *Memoirs of his Own Life*, by Sir James Melville of Halhill, last published in 1827, in a very limited edition, by the Bannatyne Club, has now been brought out (London, Chapman and Dodd) in a new edition, with an introduction by W. Mackay Mackenzie.

The *Baptist Quarterly* (incorporating the transactions of the Baptist Historical Society of London) has in the January number an article on Early Baptists in Hampshire, by Dr. W. T. Whitley, and an anonymous one on Welsh Baptists till 1653.

A further addition to the University of London's intermediate source-books of history is *England under the Restoration, 1660-1688*, by Miss Thora G. Stone.

Mrs. Elizabeth Braithwaite Emmott, sister of the late William C. Braithwaite, has prepared in one volume *A Short History of Quakerism* (London, Allen and Unwin), an excellent abridgment of the series of

seven volumes on the history of the Friends which have been in recent years put forth by that writer and Professor Rufus M. Jones (reviewed in this journal, XXV. 487, XXVIII. 309).

The house of John Murray has issued the second volume of C. Ernest Fayle's *Seaborne Trade*, in the series of war histories published under the auspices of the Committee of Imperial Defence; it extends from the opening of the submarine campaign to the appointment of the shipping controller, at the end of 1916.

The latest publication of the Scottish History Society, *Diary of George Ridpath, Minister of Stitchel, 1755-1761* (Edinburgh, Constable, pp. xxii, 410), edited by Sir James Balfour Paul, is a valuable contribution to the social history of the eighteenth century in Scotland; the writer, a country clergyman dwelling near Kelso, was a friend of Carlyle of Inveresk, Robertson, Hume, and others.

The January number of the *Scottish Historical Review* has an article, of much importance to Scottish constitutional history, on General Council and Convention of Estates, by Professor R. K. Hannay, one by Sir Bruce Seton on the Vice-Admiral of Scotland, and one by C. A. Malcolm on the Office of Sheriff in Scotland: its Origin and Early Development.

British government publications: *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, Edward III., years 26-34.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Helena M. Chew, *Scutage in the Fourteenth Century* (English Historical Review, January); J. de Ghellinck, S.J., *Un Évêque Bibliophile au XIV^e Siècle: Richard Aungerville de Bury* (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, July, October, January); E. S. Roscoe, *The Early History of the English Prize Court* (Edinburgh Review); A. F. Pollard, *Council, Star Chamber, and Privy Council under the Tudors*, III. (English Historical Review, January); Herman Cohen, *The Inns of Court and the Inns of Chancery* (Juridical Review, December); William Roughead, *The Overbury Murder Case* (*ibid.*, September); W. T. Morgan, *An Eighteenth Century Election in England* (Political Science Quarterly, December); Clarence Perkins, *Electioneering in Eighteenth-Century England* (Quarterly Journal of the University of North Dakota, January); James Greig, ed., *The Diary of Joseph Farington: a Picture of the England of George III.* (Atlantic Monthly, January, February, March); anon., *The "Times" from Delane to Northcliffe* (Quarterly Review, January).

IRELAND AND THE DOMINIONS

(For Canada, see p. 636; for India, p. 621.)

In a previous issue it was intimated that the archives in the Public Record Office of Ireland were not entirely destroyed in the civil warfare which raged in Dublin; we are, however, now informed that the destruction of that priceless collection was practically complete.

The second volume of the survey of *The Empire at War*, edited for the Royal Colonial Institute by Sir Charles Lucas, is among the forthcoming books of the Oxford University Press. This volume embraces the record of Canada, Newfoundland, Bermuda, the West Indies, and the Falkland Islands.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. G. Bradley, *The Ulster Plantation* (Quarterly Review, January); Sir R. L. Borden, *Political Development and Relations among the English-Speaking Peoples* (Dalhousie Review, January); Philip Kerr, *From Empire to Commonwealth* (Foreign Affairs, December).

FRANCE

The Société d'Histoire Moderne, which was obliged to suspend its activities during the war, resumed them in 1919. The *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* has given place to the *Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire Moderne*, which is published monthly, except from July to October, and which contains the proceedings of the society's monthly meetings, the papers read at them, with an account of the ensuing discussions, and bibliographical bulletins in the various fields of modern history. The communications appearing in the recent numbers of the *Bulletin* are: (November) "L'Incident Hohenzollern", by M. Salomon; (December) "Dans une Division Territoriale au Début de la Campagne [1914]", by Lieut.-Col. Mayer, and "La Loi des Trois États d'Auguste Comte peut-elle servir de Base à une Philosophie de l'Histoire?" by M. Torau-Bayle; and (January) "La Population et la Vie Économique de Rennes vers le Milieu du Dix-Huitième Siècle, d'après les Rôles de la Capitation", by M. H. Sée. The society has just published, in its "Série des Instruments de Travail", *Les Ministères Français, Supplément (1912-1922)*.

A group of biographical studies of some importance for the period of the Bourbon monarchy are *Les Richelieu: Le Père du Cardinal* (Paris, Perrin, 1923) by M. Deloche, *Henri Arnauld, Évêque d'Angers, 1597-1692* (Paris, Picard, 1921, pp. 429) by C. Cochin, *Le Cardinal Melchior de Polignac, 1661-1741* (Paris, Plon, 1922, pp. xv, 408) by P. Paul, *Un Précurseur de la Révolution, l'Abbé Raynal, 1713-1796* (Angoulême, 1922, pp. vi, 459) by A. Feugère, and *Le Grand Conti* (Paris, Émile-Paul, 1922, pp. 342) by the Duc de la Force, which is chiefly valuable in connection with the prince's candidacy for the Polish throne. In the second volume of his *Paris sous Louis XIV.* (Paris, Plon, 1923, pp. v, 507) P. de Crousaz-Crétet deals with aspects of the political and religious life of the city.

E. Le Parquier has edited *Cahiers de Doléances du Bailliage d'Arques pour les États Généraux de 1789* (Lille, Robbe, 1922, pp. lxxviii, 332).

Les Bourbons et la Vendée (Paris, Perrin, 1922), by E. Gabory, is a companion volume to his *Napoléon et la Vendée*.

Count Boulay de la Meurthe has based his *Histoire de la Négociation du Concordat de 1801* (Tours, Mame, 1921) largely upon the collection of documents which he earlier published, as well as upon other documentary materials. The excellence of the work has been recognized by the Gobert prize of the French Academy. The subject of *La Résistance au Concordat de 1801* (Paris, Plon, 1922) is dealt with by R. de Chauvigny, who gives chief attention to the development of the so-called Petite Église. The book is well documented.

The Cambridge University Press is issuing this spring part I., 1813-1830, of a survey of *French Patriotism in the Nineteenth Century*, by H. F. Stewart and Paul Desjardins.

The career of an eminent soldier, to whom France is largely indebted for her African empire, is illustrated by the *Lettres Inédites du Maréchal Bugeaud, Duc d'Isly, 1808-1849* (Paris, Émile-Paul), edited by Captain Tattet and published by Mlle. Feray-Bugeaud d'Isly.

The *Mémoires* of the Baron de Damas, minister successively of war and of foreign affairs under the Restoration, with an introduction by his grandson the Comte de Damas, are being published in Paris (Plon); a portion, relating to the years 1823 and 1824, is printed in the January number of the *Revue des Questions Historiques*, pp. 65-103 and 169 to the end.

The *Revue de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises*, 1922, 4, contains a body of documents from the papers of Marshal Bourmont respecting the expedition of 1830 under his command which captured Algiers; it also contains the concluding installment of A. Martineau's articles on Duplex and French India.

The firm of Putnam has brought out a clever volume bearing the composite title, *The Second Empire: Bonapartism, the Prince, the President, the Emperor*, by Philip Guedalla.

A most useful treasury of up-to-date information on conditions in France is furnished by E. Théry's *Conséquences Économiques de la Guerre pour la France* (Paris, Belin, 1922, pp. 350).

Despite its renown, the city of Carcassonne has hitherto lacked a suitable history. J. Poux promises satisfactorily to supply this deficiency in *La Cité de Carcassonne, Histoire et Description* (Toulouse, Privat, 1922, pp. xxi, 336), of which the first volume deals with events down to the middle of the eleventh century.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Harmand, *L'Histoire Littéraire du Sentiment Religieux en France* (*Revue des Études Historiques*, October); W. Mommsen, *Richelieu als Staatsmann* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CXXVII. 2); P. Bertrand, *Les Vrais et les Faux Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu*, II. (*Revue Historique*, November); H. Sée, *L'Industrie et le Commerce de la Bretagne dans la Première Moitié du XVIII^e Siècle*

(Annales de Bretagne, XXXV. 2); *id.*, *Les Classes Ouvrières et la Question Sociale à la Veille de la Révolution* (Annales Révolutionnaires, September); A. Mathiez, *Les Enseignements de la Révolution Française* (*ibid.*); F. Masson, *Correspondance d'Ernest Renan et du Prince Napoléon, 1861-1872* (Revue des Deux Mondes, November 1, 15); H. de Lacombe, *Conversations avec M. Thiers, publiées par Bernard de Lacombe, III. Pendant la Guerre de 1870-1871* (Correspondant, November 25); F. Lion, *Frankreichs Aeussere Politik von 1870 bis 1914, I.* (Die Neue Rundschau, January); Othon Guerlac, *Ernest Lavisse, French Historian and Educator* (South Atlantic Quarterly, January).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

Of the numerous contributions to Dante literature produced on the occasion of the seven hundredth anniversary of the death of the great poet, the historian will find particular interest attached to the following series of studies dealing with his *De Monarchia*: L. Picece, *La Filosofia Politica di Dante nel De Monarchia* (Naples, 1921); S. Vento, *La Filosofia Politica di Dante nel De Monarchia* (Torino, Bocca, 1921); A. Nicastro, *Il De Monarchia di Dante: Nuova Versione con un Esame Esplicative* (Prato, La Tipografica, 1921); N. Vianello, *Il Trattato della Monarchia de Dante Alighieri* (Genoa, 1921).

In *La Repubblica di Venezia nei suoi Undici Secoli de Storia* (Venice, Ferrari, 1921), A. Battistella, who has written numerous monographs on Venetian and North Italian history, has surveyed the most important episodes of Venetian history in a pleasing and authoritative manner.

La Toscana alla Fine del Granducato (Florence, Barbera, pp. xvi, 356) is a collection of lectures by P. Barbera and other well-known Italian scholars, dealing with the history of Tuscany from 1801 to 1855. It is of especial importance for the events immediately preceding the unification of Italy. A good deal of light is also thrown on the same period in *Confessioni e Ricordi, Firenze Granducale* (vol. I., Florence, Bemporad, 1922, pp. vi, 262) by F. Martini, whose long public career gives added interest to his recollections and observations.

P. Matter, well known for his excellent life of Bismarck, has now undertaken a corresponding work on Cavour, entitled *Cavour. et l'Unité Italienne* (Paris, Alcan, 1922, pp. vi, 364). The first volume deals with the period down to 1848.

Signor Alfredo Comandini, from Bonaparte archives at Prangins, has made a highly important contribution to the history of the Italian movement for independence and unification in *Il Principe Napoleone nel Risorgimento Italiano* (Milan, Treves, pp. xii, 360), including more than a hundred letters to the prince from Victor Emmanuel II., Cavour, Nigra, Manzoni, Mazzini, Minghetti, Kossuth, and others.

Discorsi per la Guerra (Foligno, Campitelli, 1922, pp. viii, 153), by S. Sonnino, and *I Discorsi della Guerra, con Alcune Note* (Milan, Treves, 1922, pp. xvi, 210), by A. Salandra, present selections from the public speeches of these two eminent Italian statesmen during the period of the war. Of much wider interest and of much greater historical importance is the *Memorie della mia Vita* (Milan, Treves, 2 vols., 1922) of G. Giolitti. While the memoirs cover at least the last thirty years, they are perhaps of greatest importance for the first decade of the twentieth century.

In 1917, upon orders from the King of Spain, Father J. M. Pou y Martí, O. F. M., published a list of documents in the archives of the Spanish embassy to the papal see, *Archivo de la Embajada de España cerca de la Santa Sede: Índice Analítico de los Documentos del Siglo XVII*. (pp. vi, 325). Recently he has published a third volume of this series, *Índice de los Documentos del Siglo XVIII*. (Rome, Palacio de España, 1921, pp. viii, 408).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. W. Previté-Orton, *Marsiglio of Padua*, II. (English Historical Review, January); G. Bertoni, *Muratoriana* (Rivista Storica Italiana, January); Rev. Dr. Charles L. Souvay, *The French Papal States during the Revolution* (Catholic Historical Review, January); P. Plakas, *Paralelismo entre las Instituciones Fundamentales de la Sociedad Céltica e Ibérica* (Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos, July–September); A. González Palencia, *El Califato Occidental*, II. (*ibid.*).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

In the second volume (Paris, Plon, 1922) of his *Histoire de Prusse*, Professor Albert Waddington deals with the reigns of Frederick I. and Frederick William I., making a careful study of both domestic and foreign policy.

Die Preussische Handelspolitik vor dem Zollverein und der Wiederaufbau vor Hundert Jahren (Berlin, de Gruyter, 1922, pp. 242), by C. Brinkman, is a characteristically valuable monographic study of Prussian economic history from the school of Schmoller.

Critical discussions of the army of the German Empire are provided in *Die Alte Armee und ihre Verirrungen* (Leipzig, Köhler, 1922), by General von Gleich, and in *Die Deutsche Armee von 1871 bis 1914* (Berlin, Mittler, 1922, pp. 123), by L. R. von Collenberg.

Under the title *Generaloberst Helmuth von Moltke, Chef des Generalstabes der Armee, 1906–1914: Erinnerungen, Briefe, Dokumente, 1877–1916* (Stuttgart, Der Kommende Tag), the widow of the former chief of the German General Staff publishes a volume of great interest and considerable importance, mainly composed of letters, often brilliant, written by him to her.

Kaiser und Revolution, by Lieut.-Col. Alfred Niemann (Berlin, Scherl), has importance from the fact that the writer was representative of the Great General Staff at the Kaiser's headquarters from August 1, 1918, till the monarch's flight into Holland. A very intelligent officer, he not only records what he saw but gives full reports of many of the Kaiser's conversations.

Vol. I. of *Veröffentlichungen der Stadtbibliothek der Freien und Hansastadt Lübeck*, by W. Peith and P. Hagen (Lübeck, 1922, Max Schmidt, pp. vi, 26; viii, 101) contains a brief history of the municipal library of Lübeck, 1616-1922, and a catalogue of the 152 German theological manuscripts of that library, most of which belonged originally to the house of the Sisters of the Common Life at Lübeck. Dr. Hagen shows that "the Netherlands exercised a far-reaching influence on the religious and intellectual life of North Germany, especially through the Brethren and Sisters of the Common Life, and the Congregation of Windesheim".

R. Montandon has compiled in very careful fashion the information available or deducible from the remains on the history of the region about Lake Geneva prior to Roman times. The book, *Genève des Origines aux Invasions Barbares* (Geneva, Georg, 1922, pp. 219), includes an exhaustive bibliography.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Doren, *Zur Reformatio Sigismundi* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, September); V. Heydemann, *Friedrichs des Grossen Antimachiavelli* (ibid.); J. Lepsius, *Bismarck als Pacifist* (Süddeutsche Monatshefte, November); Th. von Sosnosky, *The German and Austrian Alliance* (Quarterly Review, January); Decize-Aiglat, *Qui a Voulu la Guerre? La Politique Autrichienne des Catastrophes, 1906-1913* (Correspondant, November 25); T. R. Dawes, *The Teaching of History in German Schools* (Contemporary Review, February).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

Deel XLII. of the *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen* of the Dutch (Utrecht) Historical Society contains an interesting journal, by Groen van Prinsterer, of an archival journey to Paris, Besançon, Switzerland, and western Germany in 1836; a letter of Oldenbarneveld, 1590; and a muster of troops and weapons in the province of Holland in 1551. Deel XLIII. presents a group of eleven documents illustrating the political relations between Holland and Flanders in 1259-1299; a contemporary letter on the plundering of the Hague by Maarten van Rossem in 1528; fiscal reports of 1550 on the new land-tax; one of Frederick Henry's few letters written in Dutch, 1624; and a long series of reports by Richard Wolters, British agent at Rotterdam, on the troubles of 1747-1748. The society has lately published the second and concluding volume, 1660-1672, of the *Brieven aan Johan de Witt* (pp. xvii, 820), edited by Dr. N. Japikse, of great

importance for Dutch diplomatic and political history, and *Bepalingen en Instructiën voor het Bestuur van de Buitendistricten van de Kaap de Goede Hoop, 1805* (pp. 179), of interest to students of American colonization, with excellent introductions on the history of rural administration in the Netherlands, around Batavia, and at the Cape.

The library of Princeton University has recently acquired a valuable collection of manuscripts relating to the history of the Netherlands and particularly to the house of Orange-Nassau during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a collection of some 4000 or 5000 papers which seems to have been made by Jan Festus van Breugel (1702-1763), landsadvocaat and raadsadvocaat in Holland, or by one of his descendants. The collection contains many transcripts of records of the States General and other public papers, letters, deeds, contracts, memorials, petitions, privileges, letters patent, etc. The Princeton Library will be very glad to have the collection used by all interested scholars.

Leopold I. of Belgium: Secret Pages of European History (London, Fisher Unwin), by Dr. E. Casar Corti, is by one who has had access to a large collection of that king's unpublished letters to various monarchs and statesmen.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Léon Van der Essen, *Le Testament Politique d'Alexandre Farnèse* (Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire [Belge], LXXXVI. 2); H. D. Foster, *Liberal Calvinism: the Remonstrants at the Synod of Dort in 1618* (Harvard Theological Review, January).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

Messrs. Cassell, of London, are publishing this spring, in two illustrated volumes, *My Mission to Russia*, by Sir George Buchanan, who was British ambassador to Russia throughout the war and the revolution, and whose record of his experiences will be an interesting parallel to that of his colleague M. Paléologue.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. Paléologue, *Le Roman Tragique de l'Empereur Alexandre II.* (Revue des Deux Mondes, January 15); G. Lacour-Gayet, *Un Ministre d'Alexandre III. et de Nicolas II.: le Comte Witte* (Séances et Travaux de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, May-June); A. L. P. Dennis, *Russian Policy in the Far East* (North American Review, March); Basil Shulgin, *The Months before the Russian Revolution* (Slavonic Review, December); J. Delevsky, *Le Bolchevisme à la Lumière des Précédents Historiques* (Revue d'Économie Politique, September).

SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

A recent publication of the Institute of Politics, based on lectures given at Williamstown last summer, is Count Teleki's *The Evolution of Hungary and its Place in European History* (Macmillan, pp. xxiii, 312).

Baron Lecca, of Brussels, publishes a small book on the *Formation et Développement du Pays et des États Roumains* (Paris, Champion, pp. 79) in which he studies carefully the history of Wallachia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and of Moldavia in the fourteenth, and of their voivodes.

La Débâcle Bulgare (Paris, Lavauzelle, 1922), by Colonel de Drayer, is a history of the second Balkan war by a member of the Russian General Staff, based upon his notes as an observer.

The second edition of Lord Eversley's *The Turkish Empire: its Growth and Decay* (London, Fisher Unwin) is brought down from 1914 to 1922 in supplementary chapters prepared by the competent hands of Sir Valentine Chirol.

Mr. G. F. Abbott's *Greece and the Allies, 1914-1922* (London, Methuen) is a serious and important attempt, by a well-informed observer and student, to substitute fact for newspaper fiction in a melancholy portion of recent history.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. W. Seton-Watson, *Transylvania*, I. (Slavonic Review, December); Father Lambert McKenna, *The Bolshevik Revolution in Hungary* (Studies, December).

ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

The Royal Asiatic Society has lately published, by means of its Oriental Translation Fund, *The Table-Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge*, translated by D. S. Margoliouth from the original Arabic of the *Nishwar al-Muhadarah* of Abu Ali al-Muhassin, a collection of stories of actual happenings in and around Baghdad in the early Mohammedan centuries, accompanied by the Arabic text, edited from the Paris manuscript.

K. J. Basmadjian has surveyed the history of his country in recent centuries in *Histoire Moderne des Arméniens depuis la Chute du Royaume jusqu'au Traité de Sévres, 1375-1920* (Paris, Gamber, 1922).

In the *Antiquaries Journal* for July, Sir Hercules Read presents a general account of the wonderful discoveries made during the last twenty years in Eastern Turkestan by Sir Aurel Stein.

Sibir, Soyuzniki, i Kolchak (Siberia, the Allies, and Kolchak), by George K. Guins (Harbin, League of Regeneration Press, 2 vols.), is described as a careful, valuable, and well-documented history, written by one who occupied several positions of importance in the Siberian conservative ministries at Ufa, and was in close personal contact with Admiral Kolchak.

The *History of Jahangir*, by Professor Beni Prasad of the University of Allahabad, of which the first volume has been published (London, Milford, pp. xx, 501), is based on a painstaking investigation of contemporary Persian chronicles, European letters and documents, and later records.

The Development of Self-Government in India, 1858-1914, by Cecil M. P. Cross, is from the University of Chicago Press.

The Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of Burma, the most important of the native histories, based on a collection of earlier native chronicles and ancient inscriptions, will shortly be published by the Oxford University Press for the Burma Research Society, in an English translation.

AFRICA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

The Yale University Press is publishing, in the Yale Oriental Series, *The History of the Conquest of Egypt, North Africa, and Spain*, by Ibn Abd Al-Hakam, edited from the manuscripts in London, Paris, and Leyden, by Professor Charles C. Torrey. This work, known as the *Futūh Misr*, is the earliest surviving account, from Arab sources, of these Mohammedan conquests.

From the Ethiopic Chronicle in the British Museum Mr. H. Weld Blundell has extracted the portion relating to the eighteen kings of Abyssinia who reigned between 1769 and 1840, and has printed Ethiopic text, English translation, and learned appendixes in a volume entitled *The Royal Chronicle of Abyssinia* (Cambridge University Press).

The full story of *The Mad Mullah of Somaliland* is told for the first time, in an illustrated book (London, Herbert Jenkins), by Douglas J. Jardine, secretary from 1916 to 1921 to the administration in British Somaliland. The Mullah's letters to the British authorities are included.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: anon., *Les Intrigues Allemandes au Maroc, 1905-1914* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, January 15).

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

The Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington expects that volume II. of Dr. Burnett's *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, extending to the end of 1777, will be published before the next issue of this journal. The first volume (of four) of *Historical Documents collected by the late Adolph F. Bandelier: New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and the Approaches Thereto* (Spanish texts and English translation), edited by Professor Charles W. Hackett of the University of Texas, is in the printer's hands.

The papers of Salmon P. Chase, mentioned in our last number as recently acquired by the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress, consist of some 500 letters to and from him, comprising the papers retained by his private secretary, J. W. Schuckers. Some letters of Chase's daughter, Mrs. Sprague, have also been received, and about 200 political letters of Schuckers. The miscellaneous records of the Department of Justice (Attorney General's office), from 1790 to 1870, have been

transferred to the Library. When bound they will make about 150 volumes; 98 volumes of letter-books, 1817-1886, have also been transferred. A collection of transcripts from Spanish archives relating to Florida, 1520-1620, has been received as a gift from Mrs. Jeannette Thurber Connor. Other accessions are: a manuscript autobiography of Governor and Senator William Plumer of New Hampshire; four volumes of letters received by William McLain while secretary of the American Colonization Society, 1831-1850; two volumes of stenographic notes of Major William G. Moore, private secretary to Andrew Johnson, 1866-1870; and about forty volumes of historical scrap-books, of news clippings, compiled by the late James R. Mann, of Illinois.

The Macmillan Company announces for early publication Professor Samuel F. Bemis's work, *Jay's Treaty: a Study in Commerce and Diplomacy*, to which was awarded the chief prize offered by the Historical Commission of the Knights of Columbus; also *The Merchant Marine*, by Rear-Admiral William S. Benson, and *The Open Door Doctrine*, by Mingghien Joshua Bau, both volumes published under the auspices of the commission named.

Tome XIV. of the *Journal* of the Société des Americanistes de Paris devotes its first 63 pages to a paper on the problem of the initial populating of America and the ethnical origin of its native population, by the late Henry Vignaud. Other historical contents are: a paper on German colonization and emigration in America, by René Le Conte, and some documents on the history of the Indians of Louisiana, contributed by Baron Marc de Villiers.

Bulletin no. 76 of the Bureau of American Ethnology, bearing the subtitle *Archaeological Investigations*, covers investigations by Gerard Fowke, as follows: I. cave explorations in the Ozark region of central Missouri; II. cave explorations in other states (Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama); III. explorations along the Missouri River bluffs in Kansas and Nebraska; IV. aboriginal house mounds; V. archaeological work in Hawaii.

The principal contents of the September number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* are a paper on the Rev. Charles Ignatius Hamilton Carter (1803-1879), by Ella M. E. Flick, and one on the Work of the Sisters of Mercy in the United States, Diocese of New York (1846-1921), by Sister Mary Eulalia Herron.

Half of the volume for 1920-1921 of the *Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois* (University of Chicago Press, 1922, pp. 488) is occupied by Dr. Uhlendorf's monograph on Charles Sealsfield, reviewed elsewhere in this number, and a small portion by a summary, by Professor Adolf Hasenclever, of his book on Peter Hasenclever, likewise elsewhere reviewed. The volume also contains a body of extracts from diaries of Hessians employed in the War of the

Revolution, derived from the archives in Cassel and relating chiefly to their observations of other than military things in America; to these the editor attributes especial value "in the lack of an unvarnished, truthful American account of that period". Some 150 pages are occupied by the diary of a German youth, Gustav Dresel, in Texas, 1837-1841.

The *Year Book* for 1921-1922 of the Swedish Historical Society of America contains an account of the early Swedish settlers in Minnesota, by Judge Andrew Holt of the supreme court; some "foot-notes to the history of Swedish emigration", 1855-1865, by Professor George M. Stephenson of the state university; and a group of typical "America letters" of that period, in Swedish, and English translation.

The Magyars in America, by Rev. D. A. Souders, with an introduction by Charles H. Sears, is volume VI. of the *Racial Studies, New American Series*, published by the firm of Doran.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

James H. Malone is the author of a work on *The Chickasaw Nation*, embracing the earlier history of the nation, an examination of their treaties with the United States, an account of their removal to Oklahoma, the parts which they have played in the history of America, and a study of their character and customs (Memphis, A. R. Taylor Co.).

In the *Chicago Historical Society Bulletin* for February appears a letter of Governor William Franklin, June 7, 1766, to Sir William Johnson, reviewing important matters connected with the Walpole grant; the original has been presented to the society by Mr. Cyrus H. McCormick.

The Oxford University Press announces a volume on *The Causes and Character of the American Revolution*, by Dr. Hugh E. Egerton, late professor of colonial history in the University of Oxford.

A Check List of American Revolutionary War Pamphlets in the Newberry Library (Chicago), compiled by Ruth Lapham, has been issued by the library.

The Macmillan Company announces for publication this spring *The American States, 1775-1789*, by Allan Nevins.

Danish-American Diplomacy, 1776-1920, by Soren Fogdall, appears among the *University of Iowa Studies in the Social Sciences*.

The Columbia University Press published late in December a volume by Mr. William Barclay Parsons on *Robert Fulton and the Submarine*, which gives for the first time a complete account, much of it from material hitherto unused, of Fulton's invention of an under-water boat. The volume is illustrated with drawings and facsimiles.

John Randolph of Roanoke, 1773-1833, in two volumes, a study, by William Cabell Bruce, recently elected senator from Maryland, of one of

the most interesting political characters of the early nineteenth century, is announced as based largely on new material (New York, Putnam).

The Macmillan Company has announced for publication this spring *One Hundred Years of the Monroe Doctrine*, by Professor David Y. Thomas of the University of Arkansas.

Abraham Lincoln, Lawyer, by Charles W. Moores, is vol. VII., no. 10, of the Indiana Historical Society's *Publications*. In an address delivered before the Chicago Historical Society and printed as a pamphlet, *The Influence of Chicago on Abraham Lincoln*, Rev. William E. Barton has prepared with much care and industry the history of all Lincoln's known visits to Chicago, with discussion of their importance to his biography. The Houghton Mifflin Company has brought out, with the title *His Talk with Lincoln* (pp. 34), a letter written by James M. Stradling, with a preface by Lord Charnwood and an introduction by Leigh M. Hodges. Under the title *Lincoln in New England* (New London, Connecticut, pp. 36), Mr. Percy C. Eggleston of New London prints a careful and detailed account, prepared from contemporary sources, of the twelve days which Lincoln spent in New England in February and March, 1860, filling a gap, or covering a period, insufficiently covered in the biographies, and rightly attributing considerable importance to the visit.

Under the title *Jefferson Davis, Constitutionalist, His Letters, Papers, and Speeches*, the Mississippi State Department of Archives and History announces the publication, by the J. J. Little and Ives Company of New York, of a limited edition, in ten volumes, of Jefferson Davis's letters and other writings, edited by Dr. Dunbar Rowland.

William B. Parker, 23 Allston Street, Dorchester, Massachusetts, has been commissioned by the family to write the authorized biography of the late Justin S. Morrill, senator from Vermont. Mr. Parker requests those who have letters or other materials for the biography of Senator Morrill to send them, or copies, to him at the above address, and promises that originals so sent shall be promptly returned.

James Whitford Bashford: Pastor, Educator, Bishop, 1849-1919 (New York, Methodist Book Concern), is an appreciative biography, from the pen of Dr. George R. Grose, president of DePauw University, of one of the most notable men of the Methodist Episcopal Church of our time. He was a pastor in Boston and other Eastern cities from 1875 to 1889, when he became president of Ohio Wesleyan University, was chosen bishop in 1904, and served as resident bishop in China until 1915. During the critical years from 1912 to 1915 his efforts in behalf of the integrity of China are especially notable.

Two recent American biographies of importance are *Charles Joseph Bonaparte*, by Joseph B. Bishop (Scribners), and *Frederick Law Olmsted, Landscape Architect, 1822-1903*, 2 vols., edited by F. L. Olmsted, jr., and Theodora Kimball.

Forty Years of Edison Service (pp. 181), by T. Commerford Martin, is an outline history of the growth and development of the Edison system of lighting in New York City. The purpose has been to "portray the progress of the period largely from the human standpoint", rather than from an engineering or technical point of view. The volume contains numerous illustrations (The New York Edison Company).

The Library of Princeton University has brought out *An Essay towards a Bibliography of the Published Writings and Addresses of Woodrow Wilson*, March, 1917, to March, 1921, by Howard S. Leach. A bibliography for the period 1875-1910, by Harry Clemons, and one for the period 1910-1917, by G. D. Brown, were issued by the library in 1913 and 1917, respectively.

The Historical Section of the Army War College, as the thirteenth of its monographs, publishes a pamphlet on *Aisne and Montdidier-Noyon Operations, with special attention to Participation of American Divisions* (pp. vii, 34). It is not in the least a reflection upon the Historical Section, but only upon Congress and the War Department, to express the deep chagrin which every American interested in the history of our achievements in the World War must feel at the contrast between the few small though excellent professional pamphlets to which our government limits its contribution to that history and the splendid volumes of military, naval, and aerial history published under the auspices of the British Committee of Imperial Defence—not to mention the elaborate books of military history which are in course of preparation or publication by the French and German governments.

LOCAL ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

The Macmillan Company has announced for publication this spring *The Origin and Development of the New England High School before 1865*, by Emit D. Grizzell.

The January number of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* contains a Memoir of Hon. Winthrop Murray Crane (1853-1920), by John L. Bates; a paper on Early New England Nomenclature, by Donald L. Jacobus; and one on New England Vessels in the Expedition against Louisbourg, 1745, by Howard M. Chapin.

In the mention in our October number (p. 204) of the publication of volume XXI. of the *Acts and Resolves of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay* it should have been stated that this volume forms the conclusion of the series, so important for Massachusetts history, which the state has been publishing since 1867.

The principal articles in the January number of the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* are: Salem Vessels and their Voyages (to be con-

tinued), by George G. Putnam; and a continuation of Francis B. C. Bradley's papers on the Suppression of Piracy in the West Indies.

The Tartar: the Armed Sloop of the Colony of Rhode Island in King George's War, by Howard M. Chapin (pp. 67, ix), published by the Rhode Island Society of Colonial Wars, is a thorough, complete, and interesting history of the province sloop, embracing the texts of many documents, and well illustrated.

The Shepley Library, in Providence, has published, in a pamphlet of thirteen pages, under the title *A Rhode Island Slaver*, the trade book of the sloop *Adventure*, 1773-1774, from the original manuscript in the library of Colonel George L. Shepley, with notes and introduction by Professor Verner W. Crane of Brown University.

The Connecticut State Library has acquired two diaries of Captain Edmond Wells, of Hebron, kept during his service in the French and Indian War, in 1756 and 1757.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

In the October number of the *Quarterly Journal of the New York State Historical Association*, Mr. A. H. Shearer discourses upon the development of the state historical societies, their varied characteristics, and their proper functions; Harriet B. Dow gives some account of the part which the town of Caledonia has had in the nation's wars; and Mr. A. J. F. van Laer contributes, with suitable introduction, a number of early Dutch manuscripts. There is also a letter from Rev. Comfort Williams to his brother, written from Ogdensburg, July 22, 1811, describing conditions of the region.

The January number of the *New York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin* contains a paper, by Winthrop P. Tryon, with the title *Whig Strategy on Dutchess County Border*, pertaining to the work of the Fredericksburgh precinct committee and the New York provincial committee in checking Tory activities, 1776-1777.

The January number of the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* includes data relating to the organization of the counties of the state of New York, compiled by Evelyn B. Baldwin; and the beginning of a transcript of the Federal Census of 1800 for Queens County, Long Island.

A History of the Barge Canal of New York State (pp. 610), by Noble E. Whitford, senior assistant engineer, prepared under the authority of the state engineer and surveyor, is the story of one of the great construction projects of our time (Albany, J. B. Lyon Company, printers). The story has many aspects, political, economic, financial, engineering, etc., the historical phases of which are narrated in an interesting manner, the policies, methods, and sundry other aspects intelligently discussed. The

story proper begins with the agitation for an enlarged canal about the year 1900, but some fifty pages of the volume are devoted to a survey of the earlier history of canals in New York and a discussion of the conditions which gave rise to the demand for an improvement of New York's interior waterway system.

The Buffalo Historical Society has in press volume XXVI. of its series of *Publications*. The book will be largely devoted to papers relating to Joseph Ellicott and the beginnings of Buffalo, which he surveyed for the Holland Land Company in 1801-1803. Another feature of the book will be a careful study by Dr. G. Hunter Bartlett, of Buffalo, a connection of the Ellicotts by marriage, setting forth the facts of the original survey of the city of Washington, the part borne in it by Major L'Enfant and Andrew Ellicott, and making plain the supposed common origin in plan of the cities of Washington and Buffalo.

The contents of the January number of the *Proceedings* of the New Jersey Historical Society include Gabriel Thomas's account of West New Jersey in the Year 1698; a paper by William W. Bradbeer on New Jersey Paper Currency, 1709-1786; some account, from a Diary of John Force, of a Walking and Riding Journey West in 1811-1812; and a first installment of letters (1777-1778) concerning the Hibernia Iron Furnace. In this number is found also the letter from Washington to Elbridge Gerry, Jan. 29, 1780, concerning conditions in the American army, which was made public in October at a dinner given in New York to the English representatives of the Sulgrave Institution.

Dover Dates: a Bicentennial History, 1722-1922, by Charles D. Platt, is published in Dover, N. J., by the author. This work is a supplement to *Dover History*, by the same author, relating to the period before 1869, and published in 1914.

The principal contents of the January number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* are: a paper by Provost Edgar Fahs Smith on Early Scientists of Philadelphia; a continuation of Dr. A. T. Volwiler's study of George Croghan and the Westward Movement, 1741-1782; an article on the Washington Pedigree, by G. Andrews Moriarty, jr.; and a Diary of William F. Higbee of a trip to Western Pennsylvania in 1816-1817, contributed by William H. Woodwell.

Volume XXIX. of the *Proceedings* of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia (1919-1921) contains a paper by Webster K. Wetherill on the Fighting Quakers, and one by Frederick H. Shelton on Old Fort Mifflin.

The *Papers* read before the Lancaster County Historical Society April 7, May 5, and June 2 include papers by several hands upon various phases of the history of Lancaster. The number for May 5 contains an account of the Lancaster County Colonization Society, by William F.

Worner; that of September 1 an article by Albert K. Hostetter on Newspapers as Historic Records; and that of October 6 two articles by Mr. Worner, the one relating to the visits of John Adams to Lancaster in 1800, the other to the Columbia Race Riots in 1834.

Among the articles in the January number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* are: Some Aspects of Pittsburgh's Industrial Contributions to the Civil War, by Louis Vaira; Western Pennsylvania and the Election of 1860 (anon.); the Attitude of the Pittsburgh Newspapers toward the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, by Don R. Kovar; and the Application of Veto Power by Abraham Lincoln, by Anna Prenter.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The December number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* contains the concluding installment of the Diary of Robert Gilmor and the beginning of a series of extracts from the *Maryland Gazette* (1728-1751). The other principal articles are continuations hitherto mentioned.

The First Parishes of the Province of Maryland, by Percy G. Skirven, is announced by the Norman, Remington Company, 347 North Charles Street, Baltimore.

The Virginia State Library has acquired a collection of 95 pieces concerning the second battalion of the 26th regiment of Virginian militia in the War of 1812. The indexing of the file of 25,000 legislative petitions has been begun. The library's *Bulletin*, XIV. 2, 3, is a recently discovered list of justices of the peace, 1757-1775, printed with an interesting introduction by Mr. Edward Ingle.

Virginians of Distinguished Service in the World War, published by the Virginia War History Commission, is a record of the honors, both American and foreign, awarded to Virginians for distinguished service in the Great War, and is one of a series of volumes which are to constitute the basis of a narrative history of Virginia's part in the war. Certain "war history supplements", published in issues of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* during 1921, list the principal classes of source-material gathered by the commission, and two additional volumes, the one a "Clipping History of Virginia in War Time", the other covering important phases of the military and civilian activities of Virginia in the war, are to follow. Mr. Arthur K. Davis, chairman of the commission, furnishes an appropriate introduction to the volume.

The principal articles in the January number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* are the True Story of the *Virginia* and the *Monitor*, by Dr. William Tindall, with an introduction by Professor Milledge L. Bonham, and the Will of Charles Carter of Cleve (1707-1764), with notes by Mr. Fairfax Harrison. Dr. Tindall's paper is to be continued.

The January number of *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* contains a study, by Hon. P. H. Drewry, of the site of Fort Henry, the present Petersburg, being the first chapter of a history of Petersburg; a sketch, by the late Professor G. F. Holmes, of Professor John Millington, 1779-1868, professor in William and Mary College from 1835 to 1848, and in the University of Mississippi for some years thereafter; some historical notes, by Charles E. Kemper, of the French and Indian War; and a Journal of Governor Spotswood's Travels in the Public Service, 1711-1717.

The January number of *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, which is denominated "Washington Number", contains an extended study, by C. A. Hoppin, of the Washington-Wright Connection and Some Descendants of Major Francis and Anne (Washington) Wright; a paper by the same author entitled the Good Name and Fame of the Washingtons, dealing in particular with records pertaining to Col. John Washington, first American immigrant of the name; and notes by the editor and Mr. T. Pape on the same subject.

Men and Events: Chapters of Virginia History from the pen of Mr. Armistead C. Gordon is brought out by the McClure Company, Staunton, Virginia. The book includes chapters on the legislation of the time of Bacon's Rebellion, 1676, and its significance for the period of the Revolution; lawyers in Virginia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; the expedition of Governor Spotswood into the Valley of Virginia; the settlement of the Shenandoah Valley; General Daniel Morgan; and the Lewis and Clark expedition. From the same publishers comes a work on *Rockbridge County, Virginia: a History from the Earliest Times to 1920*, by Oren F. Morton.

Historic Fredericksburg: the Story of an Old Town, by Judge John T. Goolrick, is published in Fredericksburg by the author.

The *Ninth Biennial Report* of the North Carolina Historical Commission, just issued, records among the more notable accessions of manuscript material during the period additions to the John H. Bryan Papers, the Walter Clark Papers (personal), the Walter Clark Manuscripts, the William A. Graham Papers, and numerous lesser additions to collections of personal papers. To the papers of North Carolina governors were added some 11,000 papers and thirty-one letter-books, and to the collection of Civil War Papers 2,500 pieces, the gift of Capt. E. M. Michaux of Goldsborough. The commission received by transfer from the office of the secretary of state 4,900 pieces (1729-1905), from the treasurer, comptroller, and auditor 33 volumes (7,900 pieces, 1790-1870), and custom-house papers, 900 pieces (1788-1790). Especially noteworthy is the transfer of large bodies of county records to the commission. Of these there were 223 cases, coming from fifty counties, embracing principally records of the later eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth, but many

of them dating back to the early eighteenth century. The commission has also made much progress in the work of gathering and compiling records of North Carolina's participation in the World War. The commission's report also includes an itemized list of the eighteenth-century North Carolina newspapers in its possession.

The *Historical Papers*, series XIV., of the Trinity College Historical Society (Durham, North Carolina), contains a study, by Clarence D. Douglas, of Conscription and the Writ of Habeas Corpus during the Civil War; another, by Simeon A. Delap, of the Populist Party in North Carolina; and a group of documents pertaining to North Carolina and the Federal Constitution, contributed and edited by Professor W. K. Boyd. The most important of these documents are some letters of Timothy Bloodworth and Thomas Person to General John Lamb (July and August, 1788), and a discussion of the Constitution (August, 1788) by "A Citizen of North Carolina".

The *Transactions*, no. 27, of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina has for its principal content an account of the exercises in connection with the dedication of a monument on the site of the now extinct Huguenot church at "Orange Quarter (St. Denis)", recently acquired by the society. There are addresses by the president of the society, Mr. T. W. Bacot, and Major Alfred Huger, the latter address being a survey of Huguenot history and having the title *A Triumph of Spirit*. The *Transactions* includes in addition some wills of South Carolina Huguenots, with translations by Rev. Florian Vurpillot, and some documents concerning Huguenots, contributed by A. S. Salley, jr.

Professor Ulrich B. Phillips contributes to the December number of the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* a brief paper concerning the New Light upon the Founding of Georgia derived from the Diary of the Earl of Egmont, Mr. Linton M. Collins presents a study of the Activities of the Missionaries among the Cherokees, and Dr. Roland M. Harper continues his studies of agriculture in Georgia, the present paper relating to lower Georgia from 1890 to 1920, together with a summary for the whole state for the period 1850 to 1920. The Howell Cobb Papers are brought down to the year 1869.

A History of Rome and Floyd County, State of Georgia, United States of America, vol. I., by George M. Battey, jr., is published in Atlanta by the author.

Editors I have known since the Civil War, by Robert H. Henry, is described as "an autobiographical narrative of the civil, military, and political history of Mississippi" during the reconstruction period (Jackson, Miss., the author).

The *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, now under the efficient guidance of Mr. Henry P. Dart, is making valiant efforts to catch up in date. The number for January, 1922, contains an interesting account of an unpub-

lished history of Louisiana written between 1840 and 1843 by Henry Remy, a Frenchman who had then lately arrived in New Orleans; an extended review of Mrs. Surrey's *Commerce of Louisiana during the French Régime*, by Miss Grace King; a journal of a voyage in Louisiana in 1801 by William Johnson of New Jersey, reprinted from the *Quarterly* of the New Jersey Historical Society; a deposition of William Perry, mariner, captive at New Orleans in 1758, from the Chatham Papers in the British Public Record Office; a biographical sketch of the late Henry Vignaud by Edward A. Parsons, and a further interesting installment of judicial records of the Superior Council of Louisiana, 1730-1731. The number for April prints a valuable essay on the general subject of Spanish Colonial Municipalities by Professor Herbert I. Priestley of the University of California, together with notes by the editor, Mr. Henry P. Dart, on the Cabildo of New Orleans and its archives; an address by Mr. Dart on the life and character of the late Chief Justice White; an interesting record, some fifteen documents in French with translation, of the first serious lawsuit at New Orleans, *Ceard vs. Beaulieu et als.*, 1724, a civil suit between adjoining owners on the Mississippi River after a great flood in 1724; a biographical paper on Pierre Margry by Mr. Bussière Rouen; proceedings of the society; and a continuation of the records of the Superior Council of Louisiana from 1731 to 1735. Mr. Dart is giving the *Quarterly* great value by such documentary materials.

WESTERN STATES

The articles in the December number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* are: Nativism in the Forties and Fifties, with special reference to the Mississippi Valley, by George M. Stephenson; the Origin and Early History of the Farmers' Alliance of Minnesota, by John D. Hicks; and the Development of Industries in Louisiana during the French Régime, 1673-1763, by Mrs. N. M. Miller Surrey. In the section of Notes and Documents is an account, by Morris K. Turner, of the manuscripts of Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan, a firm of traders and land speculators (1754-1776).

The principal content of the October number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* is an account, by William C. Mills, of the Exploration of the Mound City Group. The number includes also an account of the exercises at the Logan Elm in June, held by the McGuffey Society, a society organized in honor of Dr. William H. McGuffey, the educator; and an account, by J. Wilbur Jacoby, of the Marion Centennial Celebration.

The *History of the Ohio State University*, in two volumes, edited by Dr. Thomas G. Mendenhall and Joseph S. Meyers, embodies the addresses and proceedings of the semi-centennial celebration held in October, 1920 (Columbus, Ohio State University Press).

Articles in the December number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* are: Tecumseh and Pushmataha, by J. Wesley Whicker; Pioneer Life in Boone County, by Jane G. Stevenson; Pioneer Stories of the Calumet, gathered by J. William Lester; Pennville, by Ida H. McCarty; and Pioneer Homesteads, by Julia L. Knox.

The *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year 1921 (*Publication* no. 28 of the Illinois State Historical Library) contains the papers read at the annual meeting, chief of which are the following: the Making of Abraham Lincoln and the Influence of Illinois in his Development, by Dr. William E. Barton; the Industrial Development of Illinois, by John M. Glenn; Some Governmental Problems in the Northwest Territory, 1787-1803, by Chester J. Attig; Indian Trails centring at Black Hawk's Village, by John J. Hauberg; and Peter Cartwright in Illinois History, by William W. Sweet. The section of contributions to state history consists of an account, by Luelja Zearing Gross, of the family of Zearings, early settlers in Illinois, and in particular of a sketch of the life of Major James R. Zearing, M.D., together with some fifty of his letters written during the Civil War.

Among the articles in the April-July (double) number of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* are: Lincoln as I knew him, by the late Charles S. Zane (reprinted from the *Sunset Magazine* of October, 1912); Abraham Lincoln in Congress, 1847-1849, by Charles O. Paullin; Pioneers of Macon County, by N. M. Baker; and Pioneers of Coles County, by Mrs. Joseph C. Dole.

The *Narrative of the Captivity of William Biggs among the Kickapoo Indians in Illinois in 1788* has been issued as no. 37 of Heartman's *Historical Series* (Metuchen, N. J., C. F. Heartman).

The *Register* of the Kentucky State Historical Society, beginning with the January number, is printing the "Certificate Book", sometimes called the Kentucky Domesday Book, being the record kept by the commission which convened in October, 1779, for the purpose of adjusting land titles in Kentucky.

The Cincinnati Southern Railroad and the Struggle for Southern Commerce, 1865-1872 (pp. 68), by Ellis M. Coulter, Ph.D., reprinted from *A History of Kentucky* (Chicago, American Historical Society), is essentially a history of the rivalry between Louisville and Cincinnati for Southern trade, culminating in the building by the city of Cincinnati of a railroad to Chattanooga as an outlet to the South. The efforts of Cincinnati in behalf of an unhampered outlet to the South involved for a considerable period the politics of Kentucky and Tennessee in particular, of Ohio to a lesser degree, and even had its manifestations in the national Congress.

Caleb P. Patterson is the author of a volume entitled *The Negro in Tennessee, 1790-1865*, which appears as a *Bulletin* of the University of Texas.

Volume VI., no. 4, of the *Michigan History Magazine* contains, besides numerous short articles, two more extended studies: the Beginnings of Dutch Immigration to Western Michigan, 1846, by Henry S. Lucas, and a Brief History of the Geological and Biological Survey of Michigan, 1837 to 1920, by R. C. Allen and Helen M. Martin.

The Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library has recently acquired a small group of papers of John Edgar relating to conditions in Detroit during the Revolution; papers of John Porteous, including a draft of the proceedings of an Indian council at Detroit in July, 1761, a short journal of the siege of Detroit, and a letter dated November 30, 1763, reviewing events from the time of the arrival of the English; a letter from William Eyre, Albany, October 12, 1763, relative to the siege of Detroit the preceding summer; and a large collection of papers of James Taylor, paymaster of the United States army for the district including Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Missouri during the War of 1812. The *Burton Historical Collection Leaflet* for January contains a biographical account of Rev. Sylvester Cochrane, founder of "Vermontville Colony" of Michigan, together with a letter from Mrs. Cochrane to her sister, written in 1838.

In the *Proceedings* of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin at its seventieth annual meeting, October, 1922, Dr. Joseph Schafer discourses upon the Draper Collection of Manuscripts, the character of the collection, Draper's methods of investigation and collection, and discusses in particular the question of title to certain classes of papers in the collection.

Professor Joseph Schafer contributes to the December number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* the first of an interesting series of studies of the Yankee and the Teuton in Wisconsin, beginning with an investigation of the characteristic attitudes of these two principal of the racial stocks in Wisconsin towards the land. There are also a history of Lawrence College, by Samuel Plantz, and a paper on Beaver Creek Valley, Monroe County, by Doane Robinson, besides continuations of General Charles King's *Memoirs of a Busy Life*, and Frederick J. Starin's *Diary of a Journey to Wisconsin in 1840*.

Among the recent accessions of the Minnesota Historical Society are the Civil War papers of Brig.-Gen. Robert N. McLaren, presented by his son-in-law, Mr. George E. Ingersoll; a collection of papers, the gift of Miss Abby A. Fuller of St. Paul, which throw light on the social conditions in St. Paul during the 'fifties; and photostatic copies of several important bodies of papers. The society is also making copies of the diaries of James Peet, Methodist minister, and his wife, who came to St. Paul in 1855, and has acquired by transfer from the offices of the secretary of state and the adjutant general considerable bodies of non-current archives, such as files of legislative papers and original census rolls.

The October number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* contains a single paper of monographic scope, by J. A. Swisher, on the History of the Organization of Counties in Iowa. This account is intended to supplement the papers by F. H. Garver, which appeared in volumes VI. and VII. of the *Journal*. Articles in the January number are: a History of the Office of County Superintendent of Schools in Iowa, by Jay J. Sherman; an Unworked Field in Mississippi Valley History (the economic history of agriculture), by Louis B. Schmidt; and the Westward Movement of the Corn Growing Industry in the United States, by the same writer.

The April number of the *Annals of Iowa* contains a biographical account, by Ida M. Huntington, of Wilson A. Scott, "one of the earliest as well as most active and enterprising settlers of . . . Des Moines"; one by Rev. James L. Hill of Dr. Julius A. Reed (1809-1890), a prominent minister of Iowa; and a Pioneer Story, by Mrs. P. V. Van Arsdale.

Of the *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Missouri* which the State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, has been preparing for publication through the editorship of Mr. Floyd C. Shoemaker and Mr. Buel Leonard, three volumes, covering the period 1820-1864, have appeared.

The Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, has recently acquired four interesting letters of William Clark, some of them written just before and some of them just after the departure of the Lewis and Clark expedition.

Among the articles in the January number of the *Missouri Historical Review* are: a Century of Missouri Music, by Ernst C. Krohn, and the Five Oldest Family Newspapers in Missouri, by Grace L. Gilmore.

In the January number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* appear, besides continuations previously mentioned, a paper by Charmion C. Shelby on St. Denis's Declaration concerning Texas in 1717, and a first installment of the Memoirs of Major George Bernard Erath, edited by his daughter, Lucy A. Erath. The author of these memoirs was born in Vienna, January 1, 1813, came to America in 1832, and the next year went to Texas, where he became a surveyor and Indian fighter. He died May 13, 1891.

The first forty-five pages of the February *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library are devoted to a minute diary of a journey to and in Nebraska in 1857, kept by Erastus F. Beadle, well known subsequently as the publisher of "Beadle's Dime Novels".

The Department of Education in the state of Wyoming issues as a bulletin a pamphlet on *Teaching Wyoming History by Counties* prepared by Miss Grace R. Hebard of the State University, and giving abundant references for local use.

The contents of the January number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* include, besides continued articles, a paper on the Building of the Walla Walla and Columbia River Railroad, by W. W. Baker, one on the Spokane, Portland, and Seattle Railway, by L. C. Gilman, and Notes of the Life and Historical Services of Thomas W. Prosch, by Charles W. Smith.

The *Quarterly* of the Oregon Historical Society for December contains an article by Judge F. W. Howay on Captain John Kendrick of the *Columbia* and *Washington*, and his sons John and Solomon; also a series of (reprinted) annual reports of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1834-1848, relating to the Willamette mission; and three letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, 1835-1837, to Edward Ermatinger.

The January number of the *Grizzly Bear* prints an address by Professor Louis J. Paetow on the Need of a State Historical Society in California, read at the last meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association. On February 10 a meeting, called by a committee appointed by the Branch for the purpose, organized the California State Historical Association, intended to embrace all elements interested in the history of the state. A bill for its incorporation was before the legislature at the beginning of March.

CANADA

At Confederation in 1867 the original despatches and letter-books in the office of the lieutenant-governor of New Brunswick were sent back to the Colonial Office. The series has now been acquired by the Public Archives of Canada, including despatches from the Colonial Office to the lieutenant-governor, 46 volumes, 1784-1865, and letter-books, lieutenant-governor to Colonial Office, 13 volumes, 1784-1853.

Au Canada, a volume in the series *Bibliothèque France-Amérique* (Paris, Félix Alcan), contains, in the first half of the volume, a group of papers on various phases of Canadian national life and history, including discourses on Canada's military and charitable efforts in the Great War, by Marshal Fayolle and Maurice Guénard, respectively, and an article by Gabriel L. Jaray entitled "Le Développement du Canada et la Question Nationale"; while the second half of the volume is devoted to a record of the French mission to Canada, in June and July, 1921, at the head of which was Marshal Fayolle, charged with expressing the gratitude of France to Canada for aid rendered in the Great War. An extended account of the mission is given by Marshal Fayolle, impressions by the Marquis de Créqui-Montfort, while the actual journal of events is recorded by M. Guénard. At the close of the volume is a bibliography of the principal books on Canada.

Vol. XX. of the *Papers and Records* (pp. 184) of the Ontario Historical Society is marked by an interesting narrative respecting the County of

Norfolk in the War of 1812, by Brig.-Gen. E. A. Cruikshank, who also supplies a body of letters of Robert Nichol, 1798-1806; also by two contributions by Justice W. R. Riddell, the first on the Ancaster "Bloody Assize" of 1814 (treason trials), the second on Thomas Scott, the second attorney general of Upper Canada. The volume also contains a subject index to vols. I.-XX.

The Macmillan Company has brought out a volume entitled *A Thousand Miles from a Post Office: or Twenty Years' Life and Travel in the Hudson Bay Regions*, by Bishop Joseph Lofthouse, with a preface by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Father A. G. Morice, O.M.I., who in 1910 published in English a *History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada*, has now brought out a revised edition in French, with many improvements, *Histoire de l'Église Catholique dans l'Ouest Canadien, du Lac Supérieur au Pacifique, 1659-1915* (Montreal, Granger Frères, 1921-1922, 2 vols., pp. viii, 403; 453).

AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

The Oxford University Press has just brought out, as one of the series of volumes published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, a monograph by Professor W. S. Robertson entitled *Hispanic-American Relations with the United States*. While the work deals in large part with our historical and diplomatic relations, yet special attention is also given to the commercial, industrial, educational, and scientific fields.

No. 58-59 of the *Boletín del Centro de Estudios Americanistas de Sevilla* contains the beginning of a useful article by Fray Pedro N. Pérez on members of the Order of Mercy who went to Spanish America.

Father M. Cuevas, S.J., has fully illustrated by extensive researches the period of Cortés and the first evangelization of Mexico in the first volume of his *Historia de la Iglesia de Méjico* (Tlalpan, 1921).

The July-December number of the *Boletín del Archivo Nacional* (Cuba) includes among its numerous contents a body of statements relative to insurrectionary movements in Mexico, 1828-1829; the protests of certain deputies for Cuba to the Cortes against the non-approbation of their powers, 1837; a reprint of the insurrectionary publication, *Examen de la Cuestion de Cuba* (June 10, 1837), which compares the situation of Cuba to that of America in 1776, together with some documents pertaining to it; a group of documents relative to the expulsion of Don Manuel Muñoz, consul of Venezuela (1851); some despatches relative to an expedition against Cuba projected in Texas; and an initial installment of an index to book 7 of the Reales Ordenes (1780-1785).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. Jesús Delgado, *Primer Viaje alrededor del Mundo, IV. Centenario de este Acontecimiento y la Parte*

que cupo en él á Sebastián del Cano (España y América, January 1, February 1); Maj. Robert Arthur, C. A. C., *Coast Forts of Colonial Massachusetts* (Coast Artillery Journal, February); Charles Moore, *George Washington's Courtship and Marriage* (Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine, February); L. Rava, *La Fortuna di B. Franklin in Italia* (Nuova Antologia, November 1); G. Bradford, *Damaged Souls*, II. *Benedict Arnold*, III. *Thomas Paine*, IV. *John Randolph* (Harper's Magazine, January, February, March); Maj. E. N. McClellan, U. S. M. C., *The Naval War with France* (Marine Corps Gazette, December); W. Stuart, *Negro Slavery in New Jersey and New York* (Americana, October); W. F. Dodd, *The Growth of National Power* (Yale Law Journal, March); B. Y. Berry, *The Influence of Political Platforms on Legislation in Indiana* (American Political Science Review, February); L. S. Mayo, ed., *The Ancient Days of the Spanish War: Chapters from the Diary of John D. Long* (Atlantic Monthly, January); W. B. Munro, *Two Years of President Harding* (*ibid.*, March); F. Landon, *The Dominion Parliament, Act I., Scene 1* (Canadian Magazine, February); D. Y. Thomas, *Pan-Americanism and Pan-Hispanism* (North American Review, March); J. E. Rodó, *Bolívar* (Inter-America, Eng., December).